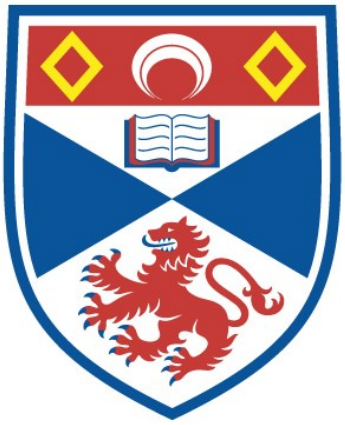
MISSIONARIES AS TRANSMITTERS OF WESTERN CIVILISATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AFRICA

Robert Wesley Goodloe

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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MISSIONARIES AS TRANSMITTERS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AFRICA

Being a Thesis presented by

Robert Wesley Goodloe, Jr., B.A., B.D.,

to the University of St. Andrews

in application for the degree of Ph.D.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on the results of Research carried out by me; that the Thesis is my own composition; and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

The Research was carried out in St. Mary's College, The University of St. Andrews.

Signed: _____

at the University of St. Andrews,

1 September 1955

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Robert W. Goodloe, Jr. has spent nine terms in Research on the subject, Missionaries as Transmitters of Western Civilization in Nineteenth Century Africa, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 (St. Andrews), and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying Thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

Signed: _____, Professor,
Supervisor.

ACADEMIC CAREER

1947 Matriculated in Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A., and followed a course leading to the degree of B.A. (Social Sciences).

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Chapter I. Introduction

During the past few decades, the Christian foreign mission enterprise has come increasingly under the strong light of serious examination, in the form of soul-searching questions by those who are numbered among its supporters, and in equally strong, if not stronger, criticism by those who see Christian missions as the destroyer of established social structures, the reactionary opposer of nationalism and group self-determination, and the agent of Western culture and economic capitalism. While these symptoms have not reached the point of large scale revolution in Africa, the recent trouble in Kenya and the rumblings in South Africa point to serious trials in the future, and to wide-spread criticism of Christian missions as a part of white rule. In a more developed stage, the criticism of missions issuing from China may be taken as the criticism of many parts of Africa in the future.

> "The main charges are two: That Christian missions and the Churches they have fostered have throughout presupposed and disseminated the capitalist culture of the West and have been allied with such forces in China as were sympathetic to or could be the tools of the capitalist and imperialist West; and therefore that objectively speaking the mission and the Church were fundamentally reactionary forces, opposed to the true interests of the people, and hangers-on if not active agents of the interests of Western powers; and would remain so even if, as missions have for decades declared to be their final aim, the mission were itself would up and all missionaries retired leaving the Church wholly responsible. Secondly, that whatever may have been the formal aim of missions, their actual policy was such as not to foster but to preclude the development of a genuinely dynamic self-governing self-supporting and expanding Church."[1]

(wound)

Though these remarks were made specifically about criticism in China, such remarks and attitudes may be found throughout the world in areas emerging through nationalism to more important status in world affairs.

[1]Paton, Christian Missions and the Judgement of God, p.37.

Africa, judging from present events and circumstances, is certainly no exception to the rule.

While the outsider has frequently chosen only certain disagreeable aspects of the missions for criticism, more generally he sees the mere presence of foreigners and their ways as dangerous to his welfare and goals. Especially is this true of Communist governments and places where awakened nationalism reacts against foreign domination or influence. In such cases, criticism may point out the numerous weak points of Christian missions, but more often is too influenced by political feelings and prejudices to be of much constructive value. On the other hand, much outside criticism is good, and can lead to needed reform. Increasingly, also, are the missionaries and mission supporters looking inward on their programmes, and calling attention to wrong emphases and patterns. These inward criticisms will form the bulk of the final chapter.

In the face of such internal and external criticism, an historical examination is needed to trace the roots and development of the unhealthy aspects, in order that the future may know and benefit from past mistakes. As a small contribution to this general information, this thesis attempts to make a limited examination in the field of historical analysis, though only of a particular section of the entire history of Christian missions. As such, it is concerned with the work of the London Missionary Society, during the nineteenth century in that area of the present Cape Province of the Union of South Africa formerly known as Griqualand West and British Bechuanaland, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The choice was not altogether an arbitrary one, for the well-

defined periods of its history, ranging from complete isolation from all contacts with Western civilization and community, at the beginning of the endeavour, to the work of ministering largely to a Native section of a predominately Europeanized area by the end of the century, give clear contrasts for study. In addition, its outstanding personnel are of great interest because of their individual personalities and their prominent place in the shaping of South African history.

A mission, in the broader sense of the term, may be defined as:

> "A sending or being sent to perform some function or service; a body of persons sent to a foreign country, especially for the purpose of conducting negotiations, establishing political or commercial relations, watching over certain interests, etc."[1]

In a more specific sense, Christian missions may be defined and summed up as follows:

> "The work of missions is the planting of the visible Church in all its completeness in areas where it has never existed or has now ceased to exist. This may also be expressed by saying that missions have as their aim the growth of the Church to its divinely appointed limits which are identical with the geographical distribution of the human race. The mission field is in fact those countries where the visible Church is not securely planted, together with those sections of Christendom which are left untouched by the Church of the country...The visible Church may be said to be planted when she is sufficiently stable to recruit her clergy from her own country and not require to rely on foreigners; when she has shown her ability to spread beyond a clique or a social class; when her work is affecting, if only in a small degree, the whole range of the life of the country, and when there is sufficient organisation to permit unity of discipline. The aim of missions is not primarily to save souls, but to provide the permanent means by which souls may be saved. The specifically missionary task thus understood is transitory; it is completed when the Church is established throughout the world."[2]

The final definitions necessary to this thesis are civilization in general, and Western civilization in particular. General civilization

[1] New English Dictionary.
[2] Paton, Op. Cit., p.58.

may be defined as:

> "A developed or advanced state of human society; a particular stage or a particular type of this."[1]

Western civilization, on the other hand, is that specific type found in and spreading from the Occidental world, particularly the Continent of Europe and North America. In this thesis, the term Western civilization is used in a more limited sense, dealing primarily with that section of Western life found in and springing from Great Britain, since the particular mission under consideration is British. General statements on missions and the impact of Western life on non-Occidental areas of the world include the wider use of the term, most of which is directly applicable to the British and Boer ways of life in the particular area under consideration.

With these definitions of the nature and function of a Christian mission and Western civilization kept in mind, the scope of this study comes more clearly into focus. By way of a setting, the political background is developed only so far as it contributes to an understanding of the main purpose. Likewise, the general development and activities of the London Missionary Society in this territory are shown to give clarity to the facts and conclusions. In no way is this thesis a complete account either of the political background or of a missionary history as such. These aims have been achieved most adequately in numerous other sources. Rather, this thesis is concerned with the problem of the content and results of the essentially Western outlook of the

[1] New English Dictionary. This definition is too general for a study of this type, as the term "civilized" is a relative one between the British and Native ways of life. While the possession of writing might be taken as the dividing line (see E.B.Tylor, Anthropology), the Europeans in that area would never have accepted it as satisfactory. See also Kroeber, Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts &c Definitions, 1952

nineteenth century missionaries as expressed in the facets of the civilization brought or attempted, the general Western leanings and attitudes of the missionaries on such subjects as national loyalty, opinion of and participation in colonialism, etc., and the approach used by the missionaries in trying to set up a Younger Church, its nature and failings. While on the surface the two subjects of Western civilization and Church organization would not seem to be vitally linked, yet the Western Church displayed the essentially Western characteristics, and in its attempt to establish Churches in foreign lands projected its Occidental nature to them. In such an understanding, the two facets are basically inseparable, and as such form the ground of study for this thesis.

This particular missionary work during the nineteenth century is divided into six periods, each with its particular characteristics which set the tone of the work done. The first period, 1815-1830, contains roughly the pioneer work done in establishing the stations from which the mission effort issued throughout the country. Though other stations were established later, Griqua Town and Kuruman were the parents which served as the foundation. The following decade, 1830-1840, is based on the newly formed congregations springing largely from a revival wave which occurred in 1829. Its difference from the earlier period lies in the formation of young Native Christian groups, an element lacking in the solitary labours of the first missionaries, and from this period the influence of the Western Church's example may be noted. The next twenty years, 1840-1860, is set apart because of the appearance of European emigrants in the territory and the ensuing problems arising

with the clash of two ways of life. This period marked the end of a completely missionary influenced environment, and brought those workers into the role of ministers to the African element of an increasingly Europeanized society. From this point, the missionaries were no longer free to follow their own inclinations, but had to make provision for the bad, as well as the good, influences of the European population. Unfettered missionary policy, then, came increasingly to be modified as colonialism spread. In the decade 1860-1879, the discovery of gold and diamonds in the area brought further European emigration, though more in the nature of mining and business, as opposed to the farming characteristic of the earlier Boer settlers. With these discoveries, the development of the country reached a much higher tempo, and politically the area gained in importance. The following period, 1870-1885, was noted as the time during which much of the area reached its final political boundaries, Griqualand West being annexed to the Cape Colony in 1871, the land between Griqualand West and the Molopo River being annexed to the Cape Colony in 1885, and the territory north of British Bechuanaland and the twenty-second parallel south declared a British Protectorate. Interesting effects of colonialism on mission work and policy may be noted in this period, as well as the Boer-Briton struggle which was to result in the Boer War at the close of the century. The final period, 1885-1900, is marked by the completion of political boundaries with the extension of Bechuanaland Protectorate to the Zambezi River and by the international race for the interior of Africa. In addition, the progress of missions under peaceful colonial rule in reality began during this period and continued until the present day.

Through these periods, mission work is seen under a variety of conditions, corresponding roughly to the situations facing missions generally in Africa. The basic facts concerning the territory under consideration and its people are taken for granted, though a general survey is included in the Appendix for ready reference.

The source material used in this study may be noted in the bibliography. Basic historical background is taken from general standard works without direct reference, though further readings may be found in the footnotes. Chapters II through VII, containing the bulk of the thesis, are based, except for political background, almost entirely on primary source material, found in the Reference Library of the London Missionary Society. Though original books by the missionaries constitute some of the primary material, by far the major part is found in original letters sent from the mission field to the Directors in London between 1815 and 1900, and noted in the library at first under the general South African correspondence and later under the title "Bechuanaland Mission". All letters may be found at the London Missionary Society, as none outside were used. Books, essays, and periodical articles used in the final chapter for critical analysis cover a wide range in the mission field--some dealing directly with Africa, some with other fields, and some on missions in general. In using such a range, I have tried to point out the universal mission problems, as well as the more specific ones concerning Africa and this territory in particular.

In acknowledging the help of others, I take this opportunity to thank Dean J.H.Baxter for guiding me through a maze of information and

problems as my supervisor, Professor W.M. Macmillan for sharing with me the benefit of his wide experience and knowledge in South African history, Drs. E.W. Smith and C.P. Groves for their kind advice and criticism, springing from their intimate knowledge of Christian missions in Africa, and Miss Irene Fletcher, Librarian for the London Missionary Society, whose knowledge of the material saved me much time and trouble.

In conclusion, this thesis is written from no particular bias, but is an attempt to examine the history of a particular missionary society, and to apply to that history the criticism of the past few decades in order to see those points on which criticism is justified, as well as to trace the roots and development of certain present-day problems. It is neither a condemnation of the missionaries and their work, nor unbounded praise for their past labours and trials. Rather, the attitude is one which has already been put into print:

> "Criticism of missions is not a denial of much faithful work now or in the past, nor of a great measure of success. There are, after all, the Younger Churches. The gravamen of such charge as is made is not that the Younger Churches do not exist, but that they are weaker than they should be; not that our forefathers were wholly wrong and have left us in an impossible position, but that often we have continued things which were once right and are now wrong."[1]

In this spirit I have made my study.

[1]Paton, Op. Cit., p.34.

Chapter II. 1815-1830

A. Background

Shortly after the beginning of the nineteenth century tribal life and missionary activity in that part of the Cape Province of the Union of South Africa known formerly as Griqualand West and British Bechuanaland, and the present Bechuanaland Protectorate entered recorded history. The Griquas, who were the first group in contact with the London Missionary Society in this territory, were a mixture of Dutch and Hottentot blood. As European migration pushed north and east, these small groups were gathered together by various leaders and moved over the Orange River, where a number of them settled at Klaarwater, later known as Griquatown. About 1820, feuds arose among the Griquas, and one group settled at Campbell, some thirty miles to the east. Another group likewise moved, though to Daniel's Kuil, about fifty miles to the north. The Griquas who remained behind chose for their leader Andries Waterboer, a Hottentot who had been born in the Cape Colony. A number of the Griquas had never settled with these main groups and lived in the mountains pursuing the life of bandits, or Bergenaars, as they were called. Their activities added greatly to the confusion and unsettlement caused by the feuds.

Aside from internal problems and Bergenaar forays, the Griquas and tribes to the north found another unsettling factor. Far to the east, a Zulu chieftain named Chaka had welded various groups into a highly efficient fighting unit and was causing a great deal of trouble. To escape the desolation brought by Chaka's warriors, tribes fled a nd

in turn heaped devastation on all who were in their path. Thus, the effect was similar to the casting of a stone into water, and the indirect effects of Chaka were felt as far away as Bechuanaland. Largely through the activities of the missionaries, such marauders were twice repelled and scattered in 1823 and 1824. About 1830, another peril having its source in Chaka's activities, made its appearance north of the Orange River. Moselekatse, Chief of the Matebele and once a lieutenant under Chaka, broke away and took his troops as far west as the southwestern section of the present Transvaal. There he established a wide sphere of influence, placing many tribes in a state of vassalage and pillaging the countryside. Such, then, were the factors which combined to make very unstable political conditions in this area during the initial period of the work of the London Missionary Society.[1]

In this first period, European contacts with this area were few and of little significance except for the small handful of missionaries working there. This fact may easily be understood by a glance at the history of South African expansion. The moving out of settlers from the Cape did not really assume significant proportions until after 1836, though there was an almost constant trickle before that time. The area under consideration, however, did not feel the impact of European migration for a number of years, and the period of 1815-1830 may for all practical purposes be considered only in the light of mission-

[1]For a more detailed study of this background, both for this period and for those following periods, see the Bibliography at the end.

ary contacts, except for the few traders and travelers who made occasional appearances.

Though the Cape and its Government were far distant from the scene of London Missionary Society activities north of the Orange River, the attitudes of the missionaries toward Government were of importance as marking a stage in the basic Church-State principle which was a part of the total missionary context as viewed from the standpoint of its Western content. In a study of this sort it is necessary first to see the position of the Society and then to note variations actually in the mission field. A Letter of Instructions, given to all missionaries by the L.M.S. upon leaving Britain, regardless of destination, at this time, states regarding the relationship with Government:

> "Remember, that the object of your mission is to propagate, not the politics of this world, however important principles of enlightened and equitable government in themselves may be, but the doctrines and laws of that kingdom which is not of this world. In regard, therefore, to the administration of the government under which you reside, whether conducted by European or native authorities, we enjoin, in the strongest manner, an entire avoidance of all reference, both in your public teaching and private intercourse, except so far as it is necessary, to explain as a part of Christian morality, the duty which Christians owe to 'The powers that be.' For the enjoyment of toleration, and the protection of person and property, be thankful yourselves and teach your converts to be thankful also. The utmost you have reason to expect, in many cases, is toleration, and the protection of your person and property; and if even that should be denied, beyond the limits of the British Empire, you must either patiently submit, or peaceably retire. Should it be necessary for you, in the colonies of your own country, or the places subject to its rule, to appeal to your rights as a British subject against lawless oppression, or injustice, do it only when other means fail. If your lot is cast amongst an uncivilised people, who are just emerging from a state of barbarism, whose frame of society is yet, in a great degree, to be formed, and whose laws are yet to be enacted, you may be called to render a very delicate and important service. On account of the superior knowledge you will be presumed

> to possess, your advice may be asked, and your assistance be of importance, both to prevent evil and to promote extensive good. But we enjoin you to refuse, absolutely, to exercise civil power or authority, yourselves, and never do more than give advice or point out how such affairs are managed in civilised countries."

It may be seen from the above statement, that the London Missionary Society shared with other like nonconformist groups the great hesitancy to enter into anything which seemed like established churchism. Though the door was left open for friendly cooperation with the State to a certain point, and for meeting unusual circumstances, the guiding principle was far from encouraging such practice as a normal procedure. Certainly, the ruling concerning formal political duties is clear beyond any doubt.

Since much of the missionaries' attitude toward Government was affected by the Government's attitude toward them, it is of importance to note the position of Government relating to these L.M.S. agents. Before 1820, missionaries were too often looked upon with suspicion by the men in power, and agents of the various Societies sometimes had difficulties both within and without the Colony, as the following statement shows::

> "Prior to Dr. Philip's arrival, there had been a strong tendency on the part of the Government to regulate the movements of the missionaries, at one time prohibiting their departure to stations outside the limits of the Colony, at another recalling them. But as early as December 28, 1820, he was able to write, 'We can now send missionaries where we will.'"[1]

It was not until after 1820 that missionary opinion became evident, for several reasons. The Cape was a great distance from this area. Little

[1]Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society, p.543.

was known of it, and the attention of Government officials was directed elsewhere. Except for interest in occasional traders and travellers, there were no strong ties except with the missionaries, and these certainly were not strong. Dr. John Philip, Superintendent of the Society's Missions in South Africa, was interested, however, and his influence began to be felt. Soon after 1820, the first official move in this isolated territory was the appointment of a Government agent to Griqua Town. Though the reactions to this situation were hardly indicative of the full attitude of the missionaries toward Government, nevertheless, this does constitute the root of later events. The beginning was small, but certainly not unimportant.

The general opinion at Griqua Town was very favourable to the presence of a Government Agent. They saw in him a means of bringing peace to the area in place of the constant feuding among the Griquas and the disastrous raids and general social instability caused by the Bergenaars. Perhaps the clearest statement of this attitude may be found in a letter written by Christopher Sass to the Directors in 1825:

> "We long daily after his coming to hear what will be done and with that Government might do something, not only that the Griquas might be brought in a better state, but their irregularity and cruel conduct will greatly shut the door of the interior, which would be most lamentable."[1]

The Agent, Mr. Melvill, was also very interested in the work of the mission, even preaching on occasions in the absence of the missionaries. The understanding was made, however, that there was absolutely

[1]Sass to Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S., 12 January 1825. For further indications of this view, see Helm to Philip, 21 June 1821 and 27 December 1822.

no official connection between the Society and the Agent. Thus, by his interest, Mr. Melvill received further the approval of the men at Griqua Town. Upon resigning from his post, the Agent made some interesting comments in a letter to the Directors, which cast some light on the situation:

> "With reference to the Colonial Government, it may be necessary for the Directors to know that an idea exists that the missionaries of the London Missionary Society are disaffected to Government, which is injurious to their character as well as to the cause of the mission. I am sure I can vouch for the missionaries in these parts, that they are quite averse from political meddling, and I have testified to Government in my letter of resignation their willingness to use their influence, what they possess, for the public good."[1]

This letter indicates that the Government still had its hesitations regarding the missionaries, and that the missionaries were not totally convinced of the goodness of the Government's intentions. Most of all, however, it states definitely the position taken by the missionaries of non-participation in political matters. Even with allowances taken into consideration, this may be taken as the Church-State policy of the first period. Again and again in future periods, it will be noted that the desire for Government as a means of peace and stability was one of the determining factors in the attitude of the missionaries toward Government.

B. Education

On the subject of education, the London Missionary Society laid down in the Letter of Instructions its policy concerning the establishment of mission schools:

[1]Melvill to L.M.S. Directors, 12 October 1820.

> "You will probably be called to engage in the establishment of schools; that among the rising generation the seed of divine truth may be sown, and a new character given to the population of the country in which you reside. The work is highly important and arduous, and deserves a proportionate measure of your attention. While general knowledge is beneficial, and much of it exceedingly valuable, you will remember that it is the dissemination of knowledge, as a direct means of advancing religion, that is your proper object. You must guard against the secularizing tendency of education, which is merely directed to human science. Let your plans therefore provide, as far as is practicable, for the due union of that knowledge which promotes the spiritual interests of mankind with that knowledge which tends merely to their secular advantage."

It is evident from this statement that, although the dissemination of "secular" knowledge was important, the main purpose of education was the strengthening and spreading of Christian ideas and purposes. Further, missionaries were charged with the duty of personal supervision over the schools as schedules permitted. On this subject, the men seemed to follow unanimously the general principle of the Society, though with variations which were more evident in later times as the theory was put into practice.

In considering the programme of education in this period, the fact must be kept in mind that this was a time of pioneering, both physically and spiritually. The missionaries had come to a land which was without the normal amenities of life found at home. Much of their time was spent merely in providing for the basic food, shelter and clothing. Most of the remaining hours were spent in establishing themselves on a friendly basis with the Chiefs and people, and in preaching in order to build up a nucleus of Native Christians. Educational activities, then, needed to rest on certain factors--the friendship of the people, the conversion and establishment of some sort of Christian congregation, a

considerable amount of spadework, and the desire for education on the part of the Natives themselves. Within the fifteen years of the first period, all these factors were at least in part achieved, though the level was necessarily at an elementary stage.

The missionaries of this period, in setting their newly formed schools into motion, took what was in some ways the path of least resistance. For instance, they had learned the local language instead of teaching English to their people (in fact, some of the earlier missionaries were Dutch or German) and had begun as soon as possible to translate the Bible into the Native tongues. When the problem of teaching medium arose, they all seemed to favour the use of local languages, and continued to do so for many years, even though it involved such difficulties as lack of suitable teaching material, the lack of a written Native language, varieties of dialects, and other such problems. This factor did not apply so much to Griqua Town, whose inhabitants for the most part spoke Dutch (Afrikaans), despite the minority group of Batlapi present. On the point of teaching medium, the policy at this time was quite clear and uncomplicated, as the following quotation from Kuruman representatively shows:

> "I hope to see the time when every book read, and every word spoken in our children's school, will be in the Sichuana language."[1]

The curriculum, as evidenced from statements by the missionaries, coupled with the expressed purpose of the L.M.S. in establishing mission schools, indicates the importance and nature of education in this early period

[1]Hughes to Foreign Secretary of L.M.S., 6 February 1827.

and the small amount of differentiation between religious and secular education. In stating the subjects taught at Griqua Town, the L.M.S. Report for 1825 indicates the importance of reading and writing, especially for Bible study. Regular religious instruction also indicates the primary religious nature of education during this period.

> "They are instructed in reading, writing, and ciphering; are catechised twice aweek, and commit to memory portions of the Scriptures."

No information is available on the curriculum at Kuruman, but since it was later in getting started than the establishment at Griqua Town, the school at Griqua Town may be assumed to have been the more advanced in development. Education was still at a definitely elementary level, but the "three R's" had been planted with a strongly religious emphasis. As is more definitely exhibited in the next period, formal education was used for the propagation and undergirding of religious instruction, while informal teaching and example were used to a limited extent for the more worldly aspects of Native development. There is no evidence to presume, however, that "religious" and "secular" education were substantially differentiated in this period.

C. Architecture

A discussion of architecture of this period must take into account the environment in which that architecture arose. Bechuanaland and the former Griqualand West are characterized by dryness in degrees varying from the more abundant though not lavish rainfall in the east to the Kalahari Desert in the west. To the south, in the old Griqualand West, the conditions naturally encouraged a transitory pastoral existence for the tribes living in that area, who often changed locations to find for-

age for their herds. On the other hand, this situation did not apply to such a degree farther to the north among the Tswana, who were settled into villages, and shifted only seasonally, when at certain times of the year the cattle were driven to the outposts for better pasture and water. Missionaries working among the Griqua nomads had to face this problem of mobility, and their reactions are to be found in architecture as well as in other fields to be discussed. A second factor complicated the problem of stable architecture in a moving environment. During the years 1815-1830, the area was torn by local warfare, mentioned earlier. This added even more to the general instability, and delayed the development of architecture for years.

Aside from the problems of the general environment, other difficulties had to be faced. First, what kind of architecture could be developed by a mere handful of men, not more than six at any one time and not more than three at any one station? Even if the Africans had been willing at this time, little help could be expected from them until they had been taught the new methods. Until that time should arrive, all the work had to be done by men who often did not have practical experience with construction. Although bricks, stone, and thatching were available, timber was scarce, and obtainable only from a considerable distance. Permanent construction material required labour and preparation, and the efforts of the missionaries at this time were largely occupied in securing acceptance and in gathering nucleus congregations. Again, only the simplest of tools were available at this time, limited by financial restrictions and the necessity

for travelling lightly. Under the conditions, what were the early architectural products of the missionaries?

The unanimous first choice was the "pole and reed" type of construction, patterned largely after Native use. Some of the early missionaries in South Africa, such as Read and Janz, disciples of Vanderkemp, chose deliberately to follow the Natives' example. Others seemed to follow out of necessity. The use of poles for walls and thatch for roofs was by far the easiest and least expensive method. In addition, it made movement easy in an environment where transition was the rule rather than the exception. Its drawbacks were its temporary nature in the long run, and the great amount of repair and discomfort involved. Both at Kuruman and Griqua Town, this was the earliest construction.[1] The missionaries were not long in realizing that this form of construction was not the type they desired, and the comparative speed with which this architecture was abandoned indicates more than just the presence of inherent flaws. With a few exceptions, the early missionaries seemed to show that they had no intention of "going Native", or of assuming many Native customs and modes of life in order to make their message more at home. If such had been the obvious intention, they probably would have retained the older and more primitive method, or at least not have abandoned it so rapidly.

In bringing about the change, the missionaries tried to do two

[1]This fact is shown quite clearly in the descriptions found in Mrs. Hamilton to Burder, 16 February 1818, Moffat and Hamilton to Burder, 1 December 1825, and the reply of Wright and Hughes to a Government Questionaire, 29 July 1831.

things. First, they had to effect more permanent settlement among the people, especially in the south, or permanent mission structures would have been of no value. This was done in the consolidation and building up of towns at Kuruman and Griqua Town--an attempt at changing pastoral pursuits into agricultural ones, and even in a few instances into urban ones. With relative success at settling the Natives in definite sites, the way was paved for brick or stone structures.

Although building was necessarily of a small scale, the significance of the early use of brick or stone in a relatively permanent type of structure, as compared with the pole and reed method, must not be overlooked, for it indicated the fixed nature of the stations and the unexpressed presupposition that the planting of Christianity was not dependent on using the indigenous patterns.[1] The factor of architecture was but one of the expressions of this idea, and others may be found in the subsequent sections. The trend may be carried one step further by noting that the missionaries also encouraged the imitation of this foreign style by the Africans.[2]

D. Agriculture

The importance of agriculture to the mission cause at this time, and indeed, at subsequent times, would be difficult to overestimate. The missionaries, far from the more developed areas to the south, could procure food for themselves and their families only by their own labour

[1]The earliest use of brick or stone at Griqua Town in 1816 is noted in the reply of Wright and Hughes to a Government Questionaire, 29 July 1831, and its earliest use at Kuruman in Moffat and Hamilton to Burder, 1 December 1825.

[2]L.M.S. Reports for 1819 and 1821.

in tilling the soil and by occasional barter with the people among whom they worked. It is not surprising, then, to find that one of the first tasks undertaken after settlement was that of planting gardens. Upon this, all their other work depended.

Aside from the personal stake they had in successful agriculture, this basic art of mankind served them in their evangelistic work. Indeed, in the long run, it was one of the pillars upon which their work rested. Agriculture was used to convert the Natives, as far as possible, from a roving, transitory, pastoral economy, especially in the south, to a more permanent one which congregated people into definite groups around fountains or springs of water. While not nearly so much among the Tswana as among the Griquas, nevertheless this had a taming effect upon the Afficans, taught them the value of private property, and developed a higher sense of group community life. More important, however, was the fact that the new mode of life made the task of spiritual development easier for the missionaries. No longer did they have to travel as much to contact and preach to the people who were coming to be congregated under the direct and continual missionary supervision.

> "By the new arrangement of the land and water of the station we find that its resources are doubled which is a point gained of vast importance as it regards the increase of means for temporal improvement of our people and as it respects the privilege thus offered to so many families of an uninterupted residence under the means of grace."[1]

Another result of this settling process was its close connection with the development of civilization. As early as 1825, a statement

[1]Wright to Orme, 28 May 1830.

was made which showed the necessity of civilization's being established on an agricultural rather than pastoral economy.

> "...by continuing at the old station a complete barrier was even in our way of being useful in point of civilization which must originate and depend on the culture of the ground."[1]

Again, in 1827, a clear statement of definite policy, shared by all the mission personnel, may be found.

> "The civilised art most enticing to them, most adapted to their land and climate, and most immediately conducive to their external improvement, is our mode of agriculture. The Brethren here also had the same view of it, and therefore the greatest exertions have been made for its promotion amongst the natives."[2]

Though the missionaries were in favour of raising some sort and level of civilization among the Natives, at this point it is not definite to what extent and what type they had in mind. Later developments show somewhat divergent points of view, and it may be assumed that they had their roots, though undefined, in this period.

A review of the agricultural activities of the period may be broken down into two specific projects, miscellaneous improvements, and two reflections on the concomitant factors. At both Griqua Town and Kuruman, the largest temporal undertakings of the period were undoubtedly irrigation schemes lasting over a period of several years.[3] Behind these two projects lies the fact that from almost the very first, the missionaries had been encouraging the Natives to follow their example in planting gardens, and the results may be drawn from the en-

[1] Moffat and Hamilton to Directors, 1 December 1825.
[2] Hughes to Burder, 1 December 1827.
[3] The work at Kuruman is recorded in Moffat and Hamilton to Burder, 1 December 1825 and Moffat to Directors, 6 March 1829, while the work at Griqua Town is found in Wright to Miles, 10 October 1828.

thusiastic and optimistic references to the growing dependence on and taste for vegetables on the part of the Africans. By 1929, agriculture had assumed an important place in the life of the mission environment, accompanied by its more subtle influences mentioned earlier. While the Tswana around Kuruman had previously cultivated the soil, the missionaries introduced the use of the plough and the raising of new crops among them, and especially among the Griquas did the new emphasis on agriculture effect considerable change.

> "...our people are particularly industrious this year in their agricultural pursuits in which perhaps they are more fixed and and which are better directed and more extended than in any year preceding."[1]

Two points remain to be brought out. First, much of the early work was done solely by the missionaries, and only later were they aided by African labour. They had to convince the people that vegetables were beneficial, that the work could be done, and then show them how to do the work, in the meantime struggling to overcome their somewhat lethargic frame of mind. It is no wonder that ten years elapsed before such projects could be done. Second, the L.M.S. men had several results in mind in pursuing these efforts: sufficient food, the training of the Africans in steady work and industrious habits, eventual self-support for the mission stations, development of the entire country, the establishment of the basis for civilization, and the gathering of the people into workable groups for evangelization and spiritual cultivation, all the while gaining their trust and approval as authoritative and

[1]Wright to Miles, 6 August 1829. See also Wright to Orme, 28 May 1830.

beneficient leaders. Agriculture, then, played an important role in the entire scheme of the mission, and continued to do so for many years.

E. Efforts toward Missionary Recession

For want of a better term, Missionary Recession is used to describe the withdrawal of foreign support and personnel from an indigenous Church which grows to govern itself, support itself, provide its own leadership, and in turn to act as an instrument in the spread of the Gospel to other parts. Sooner or later, most mission societies have come to realize that effective and lasting work must depend on the firm planting of the Church in native soil to save both effort and money which could be used elsewhere. In its Letter of Instructions, the London Missionary Society dealt with this problem of missionary recession after the planting of Christianity in a particular area:

> "You will teach such a body (local church) the important duty of supporting itself, and also of making due provision for the perpetuation and extension of the Gospel in surrounding parts. The reasonableness and necessity of this must be apparent. Unless Missionary Societies are from time to time relieved from the expense of supporting particular Missions, by those Missions becoming independent of foreign aid, it will be utterly impossible for them to accomplish what they aim at--the diffusion of the Gospel through the whole heathen world."

In relation to the raising of a Native Agency, the Letter states:

> "Experience more and more convinces us, that until native instruments can be secured to propagate the Gospel in their respective countries, Christianity can not be considered as firmly and permanently rooted in them, and its progress must necessarily be exceedingly slow and partial. The impossibility of finding, and especially supporting, a sufficient number of European missionaries so as effectually to meet the demands of the vast population of the earth, the waste of life occasioned by climates to which the constitution is not

> indigenous, and the expenditure of property by the outfit and voyages to distant countries, beside many other considerations, which will readily occur to you, show the vast importance of raising up a body of native labourers in every country where missions are established."

These statements show that from the first the L.M.S. realized that missions must not essentially be appendages of the parent Church, but must stand on their feet as lasting, indigenous organizations. The working out of these basic principles, however, was not always done as decisively as these statements might infer, and what might be called the sins of omission and commission in actual missionary procedure have given rise to many present-day problems, many of which will be discussed in a later section.

Mission recession may be considered in two parts--self support and the development of a Native agency. In this first period, the principle of self-support seems to have been realized by the missionaries and efforts to a certain extent actually put into practice, but not much could as yet be done. Before any effort toward self-support could be made, conversions had to come and congregations had to rise. Even after sufficient people came within the mission influence, they had to be convinced of the necessity of their supporting their own Christian activities rather than being merely the receipients of missionary labour, and they had to be helped into the position of being able to donate sufficiently.

The goal to which the missionaries pointed was the Auxiliary Missionary Society, or local groups formed within the Christian communities who were interested in the extension of Christianity, both among

their own people and in other parts of the world. In many respects, these Societies were patterned after the parent organization in London, though of a secondary level. Funds collected from the congregations went into a central fund which was deducted from the annual expenditure of the L.M.S. in that quarter. Thus, the primary aim was to defray the mission expenses as much as possible, thereby enabling the Society to transfer some of its funds to other areas. One of the good underlying features of this system was the planting of the concept of the Church as a primarily missionary body dedicated to the spread of the Gospel, and not solely for its own welfare. The principal drawback was the fact that the local congregations could not see their contributions actually being put to work for their local work, nor could they handle and control the funds. From the beginning, the financial aspect of the mission was in foreign hands and remained so for many, many years. However, the start was made toward self-support and toward eventual financial withdrawal on the part of the Society.

A second contribution toward mission self-support was in terms of actual human labour given to the mission enterprises. Though the Africans were willing and able to do more at a later time, they did come to help in architectural construction and agricultural projects.

The development of a Native agency was of necessity longer in coming about than were the elementary beginnings of mission self-support. Aside from the usual preliminary factors of confidence, conversion, and congregational establishment, along with a deeper cultivation of Christian ideas, the building up of a Native agency required

the instilling of a zeal to preach the Gospel among one's own people and to those beyond, a firm grasp of the duties and implications of the Christian ministry, and a certain level of education along with the personal enriching from a clear understanding of basic Christian principles. To the missionaries of that day, it was necessary first to have congregations, start schools in the communities, and raise up a leadership from that environment. The hope for such a speedy development may be seen in the following illustration:

> "The children of the Bechuanas regularly attend the school, and make good progress. The missionaries consider it not improbable that some of these youths may be the first to convey the Gospel to their own countrymen."[1]

Though the missionaries were optimistic about the future, they seemed not to consider a Native ministry possible until the next generation could be trained. Until that time, they were content to lean on local elders and other voluntary lay church officers, and to employ the Africans in minor pastoral tasks. In the meantime, they turned most of their attention to the other work at hand. From the evidence of this period, there seemed to be no desire to keep the Native out of a future ministry or to prolong it in order to keep control. Future events prove this; rather, they longed for the day to come but were content to wait.

F. The Progress of Civilization

A consideration of the development of civilization in this period must take account of two factors--the attitude of the missionaries

[1]Report of the London Missionary Society for 1827.

toward the African and his way of life, or cultural patterns, and the effect of any changes on that society brought about by the missionaries,[1] the Christian message, and the culture from which the missionaries originated. In regard to the first, the missionaries generally seemed shocked at the way of life of the people among whom they worked. Their initial disgust seems to have been born from their frustrated efforts to stimulate the Natives to think logically, especially along religious lines. No doubt this difficulty influenced their other attitudes, also.

> "A sameness marks the events of each resuming day. No conversions, no enquiring after God, no objections raised to exercise our powers in defence. Indifference and stupidity form the wreath of every brow. Ignorance and grossest ignorance form the basis of every heart. Things earthly, sensual, and devilish stimulate to motion and mirth, while the great concerns of the soul's redemption appear to them like a ragged garment in which they see neither loveliness nor worth. We preach, we converse, we catechise, but without the least apparent success. Only satiate their mendicant spirits by perpetual giving and you are all that is good, but refuse to meet their endless demands and their theme of praise is turned to ridicule and abuse."[2]

The reaction to this disinterest in things spiritual was met by continued preaching and discussion, but efforts to do away with other customs, which were a result of the assumption of Christianity as synonymous or nearly so with British civilization, personal disgust at such radically different ways of life, and frustration at the seeming failure to plant Christian faith and knowledge, took other forms. Clothing especially fell under the condemnation of the missionaries, who felt that a half-clothed savage could not be a Christian. Sewing

[1] For a general survy of the Native way of life, see the section in the Appendix.
[2] Moffat to Directors, 1822.

classes were formed, and the people strongly encouraged to abandon their skin karosses in favour of more civilized dress. Church membership seems to have been based, among other things, on conversion of clothing. At any rate, it was a strong factor.

> "Two of the female converts previous to their becoming candidates with several others made for themselves gowns of prepared skins and threw off their heathenish dress, which to say the least, is not of a very modest description. We hope ere long to see the plan generally adopted."[1]

Other indications of abhorance and the desire to change modes of life were not long in following, but they fall under the period 1830-1840 and later.

Though the widespread changes, and in many cases, disruptive elements, of the new way of life brought by the missionaries are not as evident in this early period as in subsequent ones, the roots of some problems as well as constructive contributions may be noted. The effect on basic concepts, tribal organization, and social customs may be seen in the following statement:

> "Prejudices against the missionaries are in a great measure removed, they have given up commandoes for plunder, show some respect to the Lord's Day seldom going to hunt on that day, not setting out on journeys, some not working on that day, many attending services. Several instances have occurred in which they have shown respect for the life of man. More than before they are ashamed to speak of what they call their gods and in many instances have appeared reluctant to speak of their so called rain makers. Some have given up dancing and others have appeared to do it reluctantly."[2]

Concerning tribal organization, one of the early problems was the assumption, voluntarily and consciously or otherwise, of leadership

[1]Moffat to Miles, 12 August 1829.
[2]Read to Directors, 1 March 1820.

by the missionaries in tribal affairs. In the early days at Griqua Town, the missionaries assumed political leadership in the absence of a competent Chief, afterwards exerting a strong moral influence on Andries Waterboer, the elected Chief. Seeing that the fear had spread among other Chiefs that the missionaries would assume tribal leadership, Read tried to convince the people at Lattakoo, later moved and known as the station of Kuruman, that he had no political aspirations. Obviously, the situation was serious, both in Griqua Town and in its influence on others.

> "I found that on account of missionaries at Griqua Town having the chief management I perceived that a great jealousy excited especially among the chiefs that it would be the same at Lattakoo, I declared for myself that I would never attempt to interfere with political matters."[1]

The situation was partially relieved in 1828 with the building up of a strong Chief who cooperated willingly with the missionaries, but the condition of partial disorganization remained. This political condition of a strong Chief allied with the missionaries was later to cause trouble, and similar situations were to arise at other times, especially among the later Chiefs in the Protectorate, but at the time it may be considered a definite improvement over the missionary-run settlement. A distinction must be made, however, between the mission station as such and the surrounding villages in which the missionary or his agents preached. Of course, control was limited primarily to the former.

G. Conclusions

Conclusions and critical evaluation of the period 1815-1830 must

[1]Read to Directors, 12 July 1820.

necessarily take into account the pioneering and elementary nature of the time. Most of the time and effort were spent simply in establishing contacts, meeting physical necessities, and in basic evangelization and spiritual development. Certain facts and patterns do come into focus, however, to be noted. First, at least partial stability and peace were brought about in the territory through the agency of the missionaries. The tribes were to a certain extent induced either to settle down into communities, especially in the south, or to move their already existing villages, primarily farther to the north, to better locations, with the result that missionaries could with greater ease and regularity present the Christian Gospel to them and the Natives themselves could benefit from greater temporal advantages and protection. Underlying these general effects were more subtle aims and presuppositions. The emphasis on European clothing, European food and manner of farming, European-type housing instead of temporary huts, and the European mode of Christian morality, as well as more universal but nevertheless strongly European characteristics of cleanliness, hard and steady work, and individualism as opposed to tribal communalism, certainly indicate that the cultural and civilized aspects of the missionaries' home background seemed to them highly desirable and worthy of transplanting in mission soil. Further, they were convinced of the value of building up some sort of civilization, based on an agricultural and community economy rather than a transitory and unstable pastoral one. In this undertaking, they had solid assurance from the Letter of Instructions:

> "In promoting the introduction of the useful arts and civilization, which in various situations...will become a part of the duty of missionaries, many things will require your attention. We hold it as a principle, justified by experience, that Christianity should be employed as a means to civilization, rather than civilization waited for as the precurser of Christianity, and therefore must entreat you, even in the most unpropitious circumstances, never to neglect the communication of the truth of the Gospel, or to regard it as of little use, till you have accomplished other objects; we would at the same time recommend, that no legitimate efforts be neglected, tending to the temporal welfare and improvement of the people. The two operations, so far from being opposed or incompatible, are calculated mutually to assist and strengthen each other. The desire to enjoy temporal comfort willperhaps dispose the mind to listen to important instruction on other subjects; and instruction, if received, invariably leads to all the efforts and sacrifices which the attainment of the useful arts will require. Consider yourself as invested with the high character of a public benefactor, and that the successful introduction even of temporal blessings among a savage people may prepare the way for the greatest and most lasting benefits."[1]

Two further points may be brought out in this section. First, though the missionaries devoted a great deal of their time to itinerating throughout the countryside, essentially they were limited to a particular spot by building a permanent house and church. This parish concept also necessitated the settling down of the Natives into definite villages, for if the tribes moved, the missionaries could follow only by giving up his establishment at considerable expense to the Society. For all practical purposes, the missionary became a settled pastor and not a wandering evangelist. This point will be brought out to a greater degree in a later chapter. Second, in this same line of thought, there came to be a great difference between the idea of a missionary as an evangelist living in a Native village, and the reality of the Natives living on a mission station. In the former, the mission-

ary is a visitor without political power whose main function is the preaching of the Gospel and giving advice on more secular concerns when asked. In this capacity, he is temporary and expects to move on when the new church is firmly rooted. In the latter situation, however, the leadership and code of rules lie in the hands of the missionary, and the Natives are allowed to live in the settlement by his consent. In this period, missionaries began in the former position but very soon began to drift into the latter. Subsequent periods will show the continuation of this trend and its connection with civilization in general.

Chapter III. 1830-1840

A. Background

The political conditions of this period exhibited comparative serenity until almost the end of the decade, and then only rumours of war at a distance disturbed the calm facade of the country. The reign of peace was accompanied by a revival which stirred the hopes of the downhearted missionaries[1], only to be disquieted by the threatened presence of the Boers near the end. Generally, this period was much the same as the preceding one, as far as political background was concerned, for the only significant group of Europeans in the area were the missionaries, though occasional traders and travellers did make their appearance. Once the effects of the Great Trek began, however, the missionaries were never again completely free to follow their own goals. The comparative internal peace may be attributed largely to the efforts of the L.M.S. agents to establish harmony between groups and the turning of attention away from raids and transitory life to the more settled agricultural activities which were coming more into favour. External forays by hostile groups subsided for a period, then for all practical purposes were stopped by the presence of the Boers in the east. In this interval, Griqua Town assumed a much more important position through the ascendance of its Chief, Andries Waterboer, whose contacts with the Cape Government gave him a leading role.

[1]Lovett, Op.Cit., p.76.

> "Since Waterboer's return home he has been visited by all the Bechuana chiefs within 150 miles of Griqua Town, and he is now engaged in returning his friendly visits. He also intends visiting the Zoola chief Moselekatse, so soon as Dr. Smith returns from the interior. Waterboer's influence in the country and his power is vastly increasing by forming alliances with these chiefs."[1]

Another political current in the country during the time under consideration was the Great Trek, which began to be felt in this area. The apprehension at the approach of the Boers in the southeast is strongly noticeable in the missionary letters, though the Boers had barely begun what came to be called the Great Trek. As early as 1837, the L.M.S. agents became alarmed at the deeds and reputation of the emigrating Boers.

> "We may say with good reason that if Boers disaffected to the English laws are permitted thus to wallow in deeds of robbery and blood through the superior forces of fire arms, we may begin to mourn the lot of our interior missions."[2]

At Griqua Town, the same fear as the above one from Kuruman was voiced, though they remained in peace at a distance from the general scene of turbulance.

> "It ought to be no small cause of gratitude to us that, whilst other parts of the country around us are filled with rapine and blood and every evil work, through the blessing of God on our endeavours for the instruction and general improvement of our people we are permitted to remain in peace and quietness throughout the whole of our extensive district and our people have hitherto been allowed from without to sit in the undisturbed enjoyment of all their privileges."[3]

[1] Wright to Directors, 17 August 1835. For a statement concerning the Treaty between Waterboer and the Cape officials prior to the above quotation, see Wright to Directors, report from Griqua Town for 1834. See also other statements concerning Waterboer's growing position in Wright to Philip, 5 October 1835 and Wright to Ellis, 15 July 1835.
[2] Hamilton, Moffat, and Edwards, half-yearly report from Kuruman for 1837.
[3] Wright and Hughes to Directors, report of Griqua Town for 1837.

This period, then, marked the general ending of strictly local disruption and the beginning of a much more widespread and intensive struggle between British and Dutch for the possession of Affica, or at least a part of it, to which this area was to be the key.

The attitude and reaction of the missionaries to the general political situation may be seen in their feelings toward Government and political participation. In the period 1815-1830, it was noted that the two mission centres, though holding generally the same political attitudes, were to a large extent separate concerning political participation. Jealousy and misunderstanding were arising out of the increased importance of Griqua Town, especially as the latter leaned more heavily toward the Cape Colony and away from work in a politically isolated area. This general trend sharpened and developed greatly in the period 1830-1840, and issues became more clearly defined.

Kuruman held the position for many years of having nothing formal to do with either the Government or political participation, and it looked at the more politically inclined position of Griqua Town and its missionaries with distrust and disapproval. The feeling may best be seen in a letter from Hamilton to the Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S.:

> "Before closing this letter, I would just refer to one evil which I hope will be put down, before the evil effects spread farther, that is that missionaries be not suffered to become Government Agents. Brother Wright is announced in the Government papers as their Agent. This is bringing the Church and the world together, which is so much cried down in England, as it ought to be. This was the cause of Br. Anderson leaving Griqua Town. We have told the people from the beginning that we have no connexion with Government, nor any other missionaries. Some are now asking how it is that Mr. Wright is Government Agent."[1]

[1]Hamilton to Ellis, 9 February 1837.

The situation may be seen, from this letter, that the missionaries at Kuruman not only did not approve of happenings at Griqua Town, but allowed their feelings on policy to seep into their personal attitudes.

The attitude at Griqua Town was considerably different by comparison. Not only was Wright acting as Government agent, but he and Hughes were working for closer alliance with the Cape Colony, with the help of Dr. Philip, and saw no hindrance in accepting Government assistance for their schools.

> "We regret to find the £50 a year allowed us by the Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban to assist in the education of the children of our district is not acknowledged in our Society's Report for 1836. We are hitherto in the regular receipt of that allowance, and it is by this means that we are enabled to support our present extended school operations."[1]

Though the Griqua Town missionaries were thankful for the distance of the Boers, they nevertheless saw the danger of their presence and preferred English to Dutch rule and influence.

> "I wish the Colony would added the Philippolis country to their territory instead of its falling into the hands of the lawless Boers."[2]

This motive of desiring British rule for the sake of protection and peace has been pointed out earlier in relation to general missionary favour toward the appointment of a Government agent at Griqua Town, whose coming was to put an end to the internal disturbances among the Africans. Taken a step further, it now applied to the Boers. At this time, a clear missionary favour of British rule as such, stemming from the assumption that such a rule by a benevolent country

[1]Wright and Hughes to Directors, Griqua Town report for 1837.
[2]Wright to Philip, 5 December 1840. See also Hughes to Tidman, May 2 1845.

was good for the people, and a clear disposition toward rule by their native country, had not yet appeared in missionary policy. Later times, however, show the emergence of such an attitude running parallel with the more extensive growth of British imperialism. The evidence of this period substantiates only the conclusion that the missionaries wanted protection and peace, and definitely preferred British to Boer rule.

B. Education

The position of education in the overall policy of the mission increased in importance during the second period, but achievement lagged behind hopes. Education remained in an elementary stage, due to the facts which had hindered it previously. The need for conversion, the confidence of the Africans, the development of Christian thought, and the conviction of the necessity and value of schools all had to be at least partially overcome before teachers and leaders could be trained for the work.

The basic connection between education and Christianity was manifested in several ways. For instance, education came to be considered as a prerequisite to church membership at Kuruman, though the rule was not so strong in the south. Baillie brought out the situation and its resulting difficulties when he wrote:

> "About this time, he (Moffat) made some remarks concerning the persons who had been admitted during his absence, with which circumstance, he appeared not altogether satisfied and added that for the future, none should be admitted who were unable to read. Plausible as this may appear, on account of the circumstances of the natives and their former untutored state, I could by no means assent to such an

> unprecedented regulation. However, he acted upon this principle with the enquirers, insisting upon their regular attendance at school, but for the reason already stated, finding it impracticable and knowing that they should be reproved if they did not comply, they consequently entirely discontinued their visits, and became quite discouraged."[1]

A second point is the use of education as a means to conversion. The children in school were constantly under the direction and influence of the missionaries, and many grew into the congregations by what would be called today Christian nurture. The adults who were being educated also were influenced by the missionary emphasis, and school proved to be a gate to the Christian fold for many of them, also. This function of the educational system may be seen more strongly in later periods, but it undoubtedly arose at this time, or even earlier. The following quotations show this line of thought and action, the former indicating the demand of the Gospel to instruct all, and the latter the use of education as a means to evangelization.

> "The word of life is for each and every one, and the divine command enjoins that each examine the Scriptures for himself. Hence we wish all to be able to read."[2]

> "If the Bechuana are to acquire habits of thinking, it must, I presume, be by means of school in a great measure, and if the Gospel is to be extensively received among them, are not schools of the first importance?"[3]

Education, like architecture and agriculture, had a connection with the progress of civilization. To those missionaries who thought consciously of building up civilization among the Natives, cultured

[1] Baillie to Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S., 16 August 1832.
[2] Edwards to Ellis, 18 July 1836.
[3] Edwards to Ellis, 18 July 1836.

habits and thoughts were best achieved through the school, once the people were gathered into stable groups based on an agricultural economy. Since the schools were the most prolonged and intensive contact between the missionary and his people, it was quite natural that the educational system exerted the greatest influence. To the missionaries, an uneducated person could never rise on the ladder of civilization; thus, education came to have two edges instead of the original one of religious instruction.

This connection with civilization is seen to a certain extent in the curriculum of the mission schools which, though retaining the strong emphasis on religious instruction, in this period came to be enlarged to include also what might be called "secular" subjects. Religious instruction, however, remained as the chief aim of these schools.

> "It may not be improper to mention that in addition to several branches of useful knowledge such as are taught generally in infant schools, the chief part of the children have committed to memory Watt's first catechism and some of them the whole of Watt's Divine Songs in English, besides much of the Scriptures and other catechism in their own languages."[1]

While contemporary pedagogical methods seem a far cry from the early practices of the missionaries which laid the stress on memory work, and some of that in a foreign language not used by the pupils, still, the main conclusion would be that education remained as an aid to religion, and not something apart and complete in itself. In that sense it was education with a strong religious orientation.

The problem of education without proper materials arose in this

[1]Wright and Hughes to Directors, report from Griqua Town for 1837.

period, and the long realized lack of religious reading material, especially the Bible in the local languages, began to be relieved. In this period, a start was made by the production of Scripture lessons which eventually became an entirely translated Bible. For the press, then, as well as for the school, the primary object was the spread and cultivation of Christian knowledge. This rather narrow concept of education was later to cause considerable trouble, but for the time it seems to have filled the need.

The school programme also underwent growth. Not only were the number of schools increased as interest grew and suitable teachers found, but the nature of these schools was enlarged. For instance, adult education was added to that of children[1], and infant schools were begun in addition to the regular day schools.[2] Education, then, while not getting past a predominantly elementary stage at this time, grew, and its connection both with Christian expansion and with the rise of civilization became clearer.

C. Architecture

In the field of architecture, the general trends laid down in the previous period continued, encouraged by the relative peace of the time. Some of the earlier preoccupations had been hurdled, and the time had come for expansion and intensification. While not having as much of the problem of transitory life, the missionaries were still bothered by the difficulty of obtaining certain types of

[1] Moffat to Rev. John Clayton, 22 February 1832.
[2] Wright to Foreign Secretary, 10 July 1832, and Wright to Philip, 1 December 1832.

building material, chiefly wood, and by the climate. The policy of building solid, permanent structures, laid down in the previous period, was for the time being the chief architectural importance so far as this study is concerned; and not until a later period were other significant patterns established. For the time being, then, the importance of architecture to this study is in the building of permanent structures in fixed localities, and the obvious move away from imitation of Native building in order to make their message more at home in the environment and to enable them to move with the people. This continuation of former policy may be seen in the preference of brick or stone as the favourite building material both for the new houses and churches at the two stations.[1] It may be assumed, without any doubt, that the policy was not to imitate the Native type of building, but to encourage the Africans to imitate the European style of architecture, modified as it was by the environment. At Griqua Town, plans were made for an entirely new village with buildings of stone patterned after those of the missionaries.

> "The erection of our new village has for some time been going on with vigour. About 20 good substantial buildings are now in progress, including 2 missions houses and the school. From the spirit and energy which our people discover in their present operations, we flatter ourselves (should no unforeseen event interrupt) that Griqua Town will ere long make a very respectable appearance and that its inhabitants will be in a decidedly improved condition."[2]

[1]Wright and Hughes, reply to Government Questionaire, 29 July 1831, and Moffat to Rev. John Clayton, 22 February 1832.
[2]Wright to Orme, 28 May 1830.

It may be seen, then, that an effort was being made which had very strong potentialities for the appearance of a small European village in the middle of Africa.

D. Agriculture

The agricultural developments of the first period were completed during this time, and the attention was turned to further additions and activities in other fields.

> "The large valley opposite the mission grounds has been completed so that the place will admit of an immense addition to the present population. The expense of doing this will be defrayed without being burdensome to the Society. This year some of it will be in a state of cultivation."[1]

Agriculture at this time helped to achieve the former hopes of the missionaries in encouraging a more settled life under the direction of the missionaries, giving them full opportunity for evangelization and spiritual cultivation. It also continued to serve as the base from which civilization could be built, as well as helping toward missionary recession by raising the standard of living and encouraging self-support. Statements concerning all these hopes and activities are scarce in this period, but it may be assumed from the content in the periods 1815-1830 and 1840-1860 that the general trends continued unbroken through this decade.

E. Efforts toward Missionary Recession

The efforts toward missionary recession, or the setting up of the new African congregations on an independent, self-governing, self-

[1] Moffat, Hamilton, and Edwards to Philip, 30 September 1833.

supporting, and self-perpetuating basis, continued as begun, though with not considerable success. Not much is stated in reports to the Foreign Secretary concerning the problems or advance of this mission phase, but the difficulties of planting self-support are seen in a simple statement from Griqua Town, reporting the formation of an Auxiliary Missionary Society:

> "In the course of the year we have formed an Auxiliary Missionary Society at Griqua Town."[1]

This statement is of interest because the same effort had been made previously in 1816 and 1820.[2] The continued attempt to found such a project reflects on the difficulties involved. A further reason for the slow progress may be found in the following section on civilization. Facts established in this and in the previous period are that the effort of self-support was in the form of relieving the main Society from its financial burden by displacing its funds through the hands of the missionaries solely, and that the handling of general funds was considered necessary by the missionaries--a practice which has come to be decried by many modern critics of mission procedure. Self-support was not limited to the Auxiliary Societies, for much help went unsung in local contributions of labour and building material throughout the whole area. The main concern, however, at this time was in actual financial alleviation, and naturally was the most obvious.

[1] Wright to Philip, 1 December 1831.
[2] London Missionary Society Reports for 1816 and 1820.

The second factor in missionary recession, the development of a competent Native agency, seems to have fared better, though only in an elementary way. The early plan for training such help as was needed in individual situations, was by individual instruction and guidance, and they were employed chiefly as school masters in the enlarging school system. There was no overall plan for the placing of such men; rather, each missionary recruited and trained such help as he could get and use profitably in the existing framework. Thus, for a long time, there were a series of clusters of helpers, centred about the individual missionaries, each autonomous to the others. At Griqua Town, the plan seems to have been unusually large, due probably to its earlier beginning.

> "The young men who have been taught at Griqua Town are constantly engaged in the work of instruction. In order that we may have regular day schools for the numerous children of these people, I appointed the two men already mentioned, as schoolmasters, and set them agoing, in the same way as all our other outstations."[1]

The time had not come yet for a trained ordained ministry, though a sort of evangelist-teacher was emerging, as well as the development of local deacons and other hazily-defined leaders and officers. All the missionaries stated the urgent need for such a Native ministry, and certainly the L.M.S. headquarters stood in favour of such a development, but their differing ideas of an independent ordained Native agency were to emerge more clearly at a later period. For the time being, the idea of such an agency seemed beyond the question.

[1]Wright to Ellis, 12 January 1836.

F. The Progress of Civilization

The progress of Civilization, through its many contributing factors such as education, agriculture, architecture, and self-determination, continued at a somewhat higher pace than in the earlier days. Peter Wright summed up the general development of civilization and its accompanying difficulties at Griqua Town when he said:

> "The Griquas are considerably in advance of the Bechuanas, in knowledge and civilisation. They are also anxious for further improvement; consequently, they are involved in the expense of establishments and artificial wants, which necessarily attend the progress of civilisation, and from which they have no desire to recede. This you know is no evil, although it increases their difficulties in bad times, as trying circumstances call forth people's energies."[1]

The effect of artificial wants on the programme of self-support has been mentioned previously, and posed a definite problem. The assertion that the Griquas were ahead of the Bechuanas in civilization is probably true, because of their former residence in the Cape Colony and contacts with a more developed society, their nearer position to the Cape, and their treaties and exchanges with the Government. Finally, their missionaries seemed to emphasize politics and civilization more than did those at Kuruman, with visible results.

The general disapproval of Native customs and mode of life, noted in the first period, continued, and the results of missionary reaction became more evident at this time. The opinion of Native clothing, taken as an example, may be seen in the following statement

[1]Wright to Ellis, 25 September 1835.

by Baillie:

> "...the clothing of Entsitsang not being ready, she was considered unfit to appear before the congregation as a convert in the indecent heathen dress. It was only last May, I saw her with her heathen companions at the annual female ceremony dressed according to their foolish custom as described by Mr. John Campbell, and painted as a harlequin, practicing all their fooleries and singing their licentious songs. Her appearance, therefore, now affords a pleasing contrast to what it did formerly. Dressed in a plain leather apron during the week and in a common check one on Lord's days, instead of the unbecoming of all the Bechuana females which as you know consists merely of a small leather apron surmounted with many strings of beads, the breast of the body being exposed. The neck ornamented in the same manner and the arms and legs with bracelets of beads of copper and iron. All these trinkets she has cheerfully laid aside together with the besmearing and painting of the body. While many despise and hate the change, we rejoice in the hope that it is only a token of the greater change which may yet be effected by the preaching of the Gospel on many of the poor degraded females around her."[1]

Baillie exhibits an extreme form of abhorance of the Native mode of life, not shared in its entirety by other missionaries, but the feeling was strong enough to make definite inroads on the existing Native life. Both at Griqua Town and at Kuruman, though probably more at Kuruman, social changes were made from the old to the newer customs.[2] The political aspect of civilization seemed to be making the transition rather rapidly from the situation of the visiting or temporary missionary to that of the permanent missionary exercising a strong control over the mission stations and those who lived on

[1] Baillie to Ellis, 7 March 1835.
[2] For specific references of this attitude and the subsequent changes, see Moffat to Ellis, 3 February 1834, Hughes to Ellis, 23 September 1834, Hamilton, Moffat and Edwards to Foreign Secretary, 15 June 1837, and Moffat and Hamilton to Foreign Secretary, 22 July 1836.

them. At Griqua Town, the trend seems not to have been pronounced, for a strong Chief had arisen, greatly influenced, it was true, by his missionaries. At Kuruman, however, despite the early intentions to have nothing to do with political participation or tribal internal affairs, the missionaries found themselves exercising a considerable amount of influence and control because of the existing conditions of anarchy, partial tribal disorganization, and the lack of a single paramount Chief. This state prevailed strictly only at the station itself, but the effects must have been felt throughout the district to a certain degree.

> "Dr. S(mith) can ~~ou~~ought to see that there is no foundation laid for the framework of civil society (at Kuruman)--there is no chief, no government, the different petty chiefs round about the station are jealous of each other, parties are forming, bad feelings are generating and maturing, and the consequences must one day be disastrous."[1]

Later sections will show the growing assumption by the missionaries that the whole town belonged to them and that the people should naturally be subject to the code of behavior laid down by them as a prerequisite to residence there. Also, in the surrounding district, the growing division of the people by having two leaders, the Native agent and the Chief, was contributing unintentionally to tribal disorganization caused by Christianity, or at least that form of it presented by the missionaries. To this point, then, the peace and embryonic civilization brought by the missionaries was paradoxically combined with disorganization. Also, it must be noted that the missionaries had not yet arrived at that anthropological point of view

[1]Wright to Philip, 5 October 1835.

which would enable them to see good in the Native system of life and to encorporate it into an African Christianity.

G. Conclusions

The conclusions of this decade are, for the most part, enlarged versions of those made in the first period. Politically, the groundwork was being laid for a permanent government at Griqua Town favourable to and working with the missionaries. For many years, Andries Waterboer was undoubtedly the outstanding African in this area. This effort at establishing an enlightened and stable chieftainship among a people torn with petty splinter groups can only draw approval, though the seeming dependence on the missionaries might draw later criticism, not altogether unjustly, that he was a puppet of these foreigners. It certainly was preferable to the situation at Kuruman, where the missionaries came to be the only really stable element in a very unstable surrounding which lacked a paramount chief.

Education remained primarily a means of propagating and cultivating Christian ideas, but secondarily came more and more to be used to raise the general level of life and to stimulate logical thought. For all practical purposes, however, it remained so closely wedded to religious instruction that the two are virtually indistinguishable. The place of architecture was chiefly in stimulating the Native to copy the example of the mission buildings and to do away with, as much as possible, the older type of shelter. Agriculture was used, beside the immediate physical needs, to settle the Natives, especially those around Griqua Town, into less mobile communities and raise the

standard of living. It paved the way for Europeanization of the African, but not necessarily resulted in that process--to this stage it merely made such possible. The efforts toward eventual missionary recession, based on the desire to free forces, economic and personnel, for the evangelization of other areas, could be a strong force leading away from the spreading of a European veneer on African life, depending on the nature of the Native agency developed. Since most of the African personnel recruited was for subordinate assistance and school teaching, the nature of a truly African ordained ministry can not be seen yet. Self-support had its byproduct of preventing over-dependence on European missionaries and methods and could lead to an indigenous Church rather than a mere extension of the parent Church. The missionaries and people probably did not realize this concomitant factor at this time, but were concerned only with alleviating the heavy expenditure of the Society. The assumption that European, or Western, civilization was a good thing for the African is rather conclusively evident both in the statements and actions of the missionaries. They were doubtlessly influenced by their personal shock at some Native customs and ways of thought and by their desire to give the best that they knew to the people. To this point, however, the missionaries had not been able, if indeed it was their conscious intention, to develop Europeanized mission communities. An agricultural economy with educational facilities and brick or stone houses is not necessarily European, but may be found universally in developed areas. It was a step toward such, if at the proper time the turn was made.

With the close of this period, the missionaries faced a new situation in which patterns were to an increasing extent set by a European population. In the first period, the missionaries began totally with their own policy and plans, though the difficulties to be overcome prevented them from carrying out most of their ideas. The second period was the one following the time of revival, when it was possible to have African cooperation through the new local congregations. This time was short, however, because of the changing social environment brought by the influence and influx of Boers. Those trends which may be drawn out of the study thus far were soon either to be modified or confirmed, as future sections will show.

Chapter IV. 1840-1860.

A. Background

The political background of the period 1840-1860 was almost entirely monopolized by the Boer problem. To the missionaries, the Boer advance was a sure sign of trouble, both to the mission and to the African people. They saw pressure being put on their work in the south and east, and made efforts to protect themselves and their people against this invasion. The pressure exerted by the Boers on what may be called the eastern or fringe stations of the mission caused the L.M.S. agents much concern and forced them into two channels of reaction, one of which had especially far reaching results. In the first instance, the plan was to reinforce the eastern stations in the hope that increased stability and settlement would be a deterrent to Boer infiltration, and the increased staff would be sufficiently strong to keep the small force already there from collapsing from overwork and hostility. The danger to the missions was recognized early, and suggestions made accordingly.

> "The Bakwena is the next tribe beyond the limits of the robbery and murderous course of the Boers, but in the event of receiving real or imaginary offense, will fall on the Bakwena and claim their country as they believe a just and proper reward, and thus close the door to missions to the northward. This state of the Bakwena is worthy of immediate and serious consideration, and I think with all the Brethren in this quarter no time ought to be lost before a mission be commenced there."[1]

The southern station of Griqua Town, though not feeling the direct

[1]Edwards to Tidman, 24 September 1841.

thrust of the Boers to the southeast at Philippolis yet, nevertheless had its problems and anxieties while the missionaries to the east were coping with the situation there.

> "During this year our district has sustained some damage by the disturbances which took place between the Boers and Griquas. These disturbances tho' they had their immediate seat at Philippolis and exercised their most injurious influence over the people of that district causing them much loss of time and some property and are amongst the occurences of the year which we have to lament as in some measure hindering the progress of our work."[1]

After being defeated at Philippolis by English forces, the Boers moved northward and caused the most serious damage to the eastern mission stations, events which brought to a head the difficulties of the L.M.S. and initiated the second reaction to the inrush.

> "The Boers who were lately defeated at Philippolis are going into the interior, great numbers are already there, in the neighbourhood of Messrs. Inglis and Edwards. This is a dark lookout for these missions, if they are not very soon abandoned by the natives it will be a wonder."[2]

The fears of the missionaries were well founded, for within a very few years, Inglis and Edwards were forced to retire and the station of Livingstone was sacked in his absence.[3] From these experiences sprang the well-known travels of David Livingstone, who began initially to find new areas for mission work and ended by opening up much of central Africa to Christianity and commerce. The controversy with the Boers, then, gravely shook the missionary situation in Griqua territory and Bechuanaland, and absorbed much of the effort

[1] Solomon and Hughes to Tidman, 6 November 1845.
[2] Ashton to Tidman, 23 January 1849. See also Hamilton to Tidman, 18 January 1849.
[3] Edwards to Tidman, 4 September 1849 and Ashton to Tidman, 14 September 1852.

and thought which otherwise could have been channelled into more constructive efforts and policy. Further effects were the Native displacement from tribal land by the Boers, which further complicated mission work and contributed to the breakdown of the tribal system. This latter point will be discussed in a later period when its scale becomes a major factor.

The attitude toward the Government and missionary political participation must be interpreted in the light of the Boer controversy, for under these circumstances the policy toward Church-State relationships entered the main channel which it took for the remainder of the century, with but minor variations. The first thought in the minds of most of the missionaries was that the Boers must be stopped from inflicting further damage and chaos, and the mission position secured from outside forces. To them, the English Government seemed sent from God to restore order. Government, then, assumed the role in their minds of protector, as it had to a certain degree previously in regard to internal tribal warfare. Whatever misgivings they may have had about too close an alliance between Church and State, the immediate situation demanded action. It is not surprising, then, to see men who had formerly shied away from any such connection eager for the interference and protection of Government. With grateful hearts they begged for and received Government troops at Philippolis to defeat the Boers.

> "While there at the Vaal River, the present war of the Philippolis Griquas broke out, and Waterboer passed us

> with his men, about 300, on their way towards Philippolis, for the defence of his own district, and if absolutely necessary, for the assistance of the chief of Philippolis. It immediately occurred to me that I could not serve the cause better in this emergency than by riding with all speed to this place (Colesberg) to second Br. Thompson's efforts in urging upon the attention of the Colonial Authorities the absolute necessity of their interference in the present struggle of the Griquas with the emigrant Boers in and around Philippolis. I was very thankful for the Colonial help, for without it, I fear our missions beyond the boundary would have been ruined by the protractedness of this war. I do now hope but little damage will be done to the missions. Colonial aid will encourage the natives to place their confidence for justice in the Cape Government."[1]

This very favourable attitude toward the presence of the Cape Government was largely turned to questioning and distaste during and after the Government's agreements with the Boers concerning the latter's independence. The first move in 1852 was to acknowledge the already existing state of independence of the settlers beyond the Vaal River. The Sand River Convention, as it was called, was an agreement between the two, one clause of which stated that slavery should be outlawed in the Transvaal; but otherwise, the British Government was withdrawing all alliance with the tribes of that area. In effect, the Government was withdrawing from the territory and responsibility of Native welfare, leaving the Boers to pursue their own affairs and dealings with the Africans with a free hand. To say the least, this British action at a time when peace and stability were essential to mission work, did not appeal to the missionaries whose lives and labours were devoted to the welfare of their people.

[1]Hughes to Tidman, 2 May 1845.

> "They say, and the natives in general say, they can not comprehend how a Government like that of the English should allow their children to cross the boundaries and seize on the lands of others, then quarrel with them, drive them farther and finding they have not power to subdue, tell them they are independent and that they can make a kingdom of their own."[1]

The dislike of Government evinced by the missionaries seems to have been only on the surface, for they hoped still that Government would be the means to peace and protection. That they disliked some of the policies does not necessarily mean that they were turned irreconcilably against it, but in their disappointment, they showed strong feelings. Their allegiance to the Natives stood above their patriotism to the Government, but they preferred to have both, if Government would be benevolent and help them in their cause.

The fact that the Government could provide peace meant to all the furtherance of Christian work, but it also had a second factor--the spread of civilization; and it may be assumed in this period, that civilization meant Western civilization in particular. Probably the strongest advocate for the planting of civilization as such was Isaac Hughes, who stood in a tradition at Griqua Town. Speaking of his disappointment in the actions of the Government, he states the hope he had had.

> "The relative political position at Griqua Town and district are the same as last year, with one important exception, viz. its connection or standing with the Cape Colony on its south. Last year it had its valued treaty of alliance with the Colony,

[1]Moffat to Tidman, 9 April 1852. For similar complaints and bitterness, see Solomon to Tidman, 10 December 1850, Hughes to Thompson, 9 December 1850, Hughes to Tidman, 12 June 1851, Inglis to Tidman, 16 June 1852, and Mackenzie to Tidman, 1 March 1859.

> for all the purposes of free commerce, and mutual protection, and every thing was in a fair way to a closer union, and eventually amalgamation. But now the said treaty has been withdrawn by the Governor of the Colony, General Carthcart. The late treaty had promised to solve the question--how the tribes could all be brought under the influence and control of the Colony, for the general good. Our labours of fifty years among them for their civilisation may all thus become lost. For myself as for my predecessors in the mission--Rev. Anderson, Helm, Wright, as also others of fellow labourers still in the field, I may safely say that second to their everlasting interests of our people, was and is held their gradual elevation into alliance and eventual amalgamation with the Colony, as their nearest neighbour of civilised and Christianised nations, and the late Sir B. D'Urban, Governor with his Secretary Bell, and the British Government of the day nineteen years ago, fully appreciated our motives, and gladly seconded our efforts for that object. We feel this point, political or what it may be called, as vitally connected with the progress of our missionary work among the Griquas and neighbouring tribes. Isolation from neighbourly civilised and Christian nations would ruin our mission and people. Christianity can not live without civilisation, and civilisation can not live in isolation."[1]

The missionaries, in such trying times, were called upon to do more than change their attitude toward the Government. As men who were well acquainted with both British and Native problems and points of view, and virtually the only white men trusted by the natives, the role of advisor and agent for Native interests fell to them. The number of letters and consultations between them and the Government rose greatly, and they became increasingly involved in political matters. Some of the missionaries who were politically inclined entered into this role easily without qualms of conscience, while others who had a distaste for such activities, nevertheless entered into them because of the difficult situation. An example of the latter may be

[1]Hughes to Tidman, 29 November 1853. For an elaboration of this point of view and activity, see also Hughes to Tidman, 24 June 1856 and 6 December 1857.

seen in a statement from Ashton, who played a considerable role as champion of Native land rights:

> "I wish to have as little to do as possible with politics, and writing in other papers than my own, but in such a state of things we are compelled in the name of truth and justice sometimes to appear in the light of 'political' missionaries."[1]

B. Education

Education in the period 1840-1860 took on a much larger and varied aspect from its former state, for the social conditions in which it existed had undergone a very radical change, compared with past periods. No longer were there a handful of isolated stations with little or no foreign influence. Now the missions found themselves in a larger stream in many different currents of activities and ideas, and the agents of the L.M.S., partly through the addition of new men with different ideas and partly through the force of the social environment, tried definitely to adjust to the new situation. Some factors remained basically the same, though, regardless of other changes. For instance, the old rule concerning the necessity of being able to read the Bible prior to acceptance into the Christian congregation, held true still, though not always strictly adhered to.[2]

The close connection between education and Christianity also remained in the use of the educational system as a means of conversion, for the close and prolonged influence and supervision of the missionary provided one of the best channels for swaying the hearts

[1]Ashton to Tidman, 29 November 1853.
[2]Moffat to Tidman, 14 November 1855.

and minds of the people.[1] Though it was not stated directly that the schools were used as a means to conversion, there are mentioned several times with pleasure the conversion of children through the schools. As time passed, the majority of the young converts at the more established missions had come up through the educational system. This fact, taken together with the obviously strong emphasis on Scriptural knowledge and inculcation of Christian dogma and understanding, points to the value of the schools in terms of congregational building.

By this time, the connection between education and the building up of civilization had begun to run in a slightly different channel, due to the change in social environment. The old idea held by many, except those at Griqua Town and a few others, of building up some sort of civilization in an area isolated from the Cape Colony, was gone forever with the presence of both the English and the Boers. It is not strange, then, to note that from this time the connection between education and civilization took the form of efforts to adjust the Natives to the new culture and mode of life of the emigrant Europeans in their immediate neighbourhood. From this point on, the standard of civilization aimed at, consciously or otherwise, by mission efforts was the dominant European type exhibited in this territory.

Aside from the statement of Hughes saying that missionaries at

[1]Hamilton, Moffat and Ashton to Tidman, report from Kuruman for 1846, and Solomon to Tidman, 6 November 1848.

Griqua Town had always looked toward much closer ties with the Cape, both economically and socially, the first really striking efforts toward this new social adjustment may be found in the growing curriculum, especially in the field of language use and study. As early as 1843, the desire to teach and to learn the language of the dominant Europeans may be found.

> "The daily schools are two, one in the forenoon, for the more advanced, and the other in the afternoon for the infants. In them are taught reading, writing, and the first rules of arithmetic, in the Dutch, Sechuana, and English languages. Our Sabbath schools are two in number, one in the larger school house for adults, and the larger children in Dutch and Sechuana, and the other in the Infant school room, for the smaller children in the English language."[1]

It is interesting to note here that a systematic teaching of English was begun with the youngest children, no doubt so that the children would grow up with a fluent knowledge of the language. It also implied an effort to teach all the people this language over a period of years as the new generation arose. Further, it is significant that such efforts arose at Griqua Town, the station most inclined toward this type of work. The teaching of Dutch to Griquas denotes nothing, as it was their native language. On the other hand, the teaching of Dutch to Bechuanas was significant, and had its rise from a definite need.

> "Mrs. Ross teaches the Dutch (to Bechuanas), as there is so much travelling to the Colony and Free State, there is a great desire of becoming acquainted with that language."[2]

[1]Hughes and Solomon, Griqua Town report for 1843. See also Solomon to Freeman, 20 October 1844, Solomon to Tidman, 6 November 1848, and Ross to Tidman, 22 November 1853.
[2]Ross to Tidman, 6 October 1857.

Another aspect which pointed to the new concept of education as a means toward social adjustment to the new European civilization may be seen in the development of educational facilities and methods evident in this period. The printing press, established at Kuruman, was used primarily for the printing of the Bible translated into Sechuana and for various small religious tracts and Christian classics. The feeling that literature should go beyond the use solely of the Bible was followed up in 1857 by the conviction that literature, under the direction of the missionaries should include reading matter not strictly of a religious nature. It was decided that a newspaper should be printed for general distribution throughout the territory.

> "I am getting up a small Sechuana monthly periodical, to which the other missionaries are invited to contribute. It will be partly religious and partly secular. It is intended to stimulate their reading appetite, and to get them into the way of better understanding what they do read. I hope to get out the first number this week, which will contain a list of the subscribers to the Society for the present year, with the amount subscribed by each. When I get these lists I intend to give them a plain leading article upon the subject of 'self-support.'"[1]

Though the newspapes was primarily of a religious and missionary nature, it still was a definite step in the direction of p roviding other than religious reading. Approval was general among the other missionaries[2], and a desire was voiced to have a similar periodical for the Griquas, published perhaps at Philippolis.[3] More and more, the trend was moving away from strictly religious functions of the

[1]Ashton to Tidman, 12 October 1857.
[2]Ashton to Tidman, 10 February 1858, and Ross to Tidman, 19 January 1858.
[3]Hughes to Tidman, 6 December 1857.

missionaries toward a wider approach which contained the factor of preparing the Natives for life within the European civilization recently planted in the surrounding territory.

This enlargement may be seen also in the slowly expanding curriculum of the time. It is interesting to note in the following examples that, while the basic subjects continued along with a strong religious basis, more "secular" subjects were being added, though still on a very elementary level.

> "The progress of the scholars in reading, writing, and geography has been most encouraging. The last branch I have introduced with very great pleasure and effect. Arithmetic is neither much needed, nor sought after; however, a little is also attempted in this branch which is all that is at present needed."[1]

> "At present all that can be done at the outposts for the children, is their instruction in the simple reading of the Scriptures with some knowledge of the Scripture Catechism. At the head station, writing, with a little arithmetic and geography, is added to the same, and some of the children, particularly of the girls, have made considerable progress in these branches of knowledge."[2]

The increased teaching of European languages, along with an enlargement, however small under the circumstances, of curriculum from the strictly religious use of reading and writing Scripture lessons, indicates the effect of the new political and social conditions to a large extent. In this period also appeared the first obvious attempts at standardizing the mission schools with those of the Cape--a problem which has sooner or later dogged the footsteps of most mission endeavours. The setting up of educational facilities

[1]Ross to Philip, 20 January 1842.
[2]Wright and Hughes to Freeman, 7 October 1842.

and methods along the exact lines of the home country opens up the great temptation to carry the trend to its extreme conclusion by transplanting wholesale the educational system of the West, regardless of its adaptability to the local social environment. The advisability of the action at this time is a moot question, and depends more largely on the line taken afterwards. It was a preparatory step to something more controversial, but the line of action following was the crucial test. Whether in taking the preliminary step of using Cape Colony forms and materials the missionaries at Griqua Town were consciously following a pre-arranged scheme or not is debatable, but it must be understood that they were short of teaching material and wished to take what looked good and useful to them.

> "A class books, the more elementary and simple volumes of Chambers Educational course, as used in the Government schools of the Colony, would be very acceptable and valuable."[1]

> " The senior English class has read and translated Greens Useful Knowledge and a part of the Rudiments of Knowledge and have also translated from Dutch into English the former portion of a class book compiled by the Superintendent General of Education in the Colony for the use of the Dutch classes in the Government Colonial Schools."[2]

In a more purely administrative sense, the mission schools of the L.M.S. underwent a definite period of development. The expansion of school facilities, both in number and function, took place. As mission work went beyond the limits of the individual centres,

[1]Hughes to Dr. Inness, Superintendent of Education, Cape Town, 26 January 1844.
[2]Solomon to Tidman, 6 November 1848.

schools appeared in most of the surrounding and even distant villages. At the main stations work under the direction of the missionaries became divided into age or achievement groups, with a more elaborate curriculum designed to suit both the younger and older students.[1]

Concerning the use of Native help in schools, progress was made by having some of the older children help the younger ones as monitors and by employing a great deal of voluntary help in the outstations and a few paid teachers at the main stations. Mention of monitors appeared in the reports of Kuruman primarily, while the use of paid and voluntaary help was noted in the reports of both Kuruman and Griqua Town. The other main stations were still relatively new and in different circumstances which prevented their development to such a point.[2] Though there was Native help to a certain extent at Kuruman, the bulk of such employment was at Griqua Town. The widespread dispersion of the people, in order to reach as many people as possible, necessitated a much enlarged programme of aid. This dispersion of the people, caused primarily by climatic conditions but also partly by land displacement, was to have a great effect on mission work and policy, education being only one of the factors. In the long run, this was a healthy stimulus to the educational and evangelistic aspects of the mission, for it placed more responsibility in the hands of the people and lessened the danger in

[1]Hughes and Solomon, report for 1843, Ross to Tidman, 7 January 1845, Helmore to Tidman, 8 February 1847, and Hamilton, Moffat, and Ashton to Tidman, 22 October 1849.

[2]Wright and Hughes to Freeman, 7 October 1842, Solomon to Tidman, 6 November 1848, and Ashton to Tidman, 7 January 1853.

that part of the country of an overly centralized mission which threatened Kuruman. Because of conditions beyond missionary control, this dispersal was the forerunner of eventual abandonment of the town of the Griquas as a resident mission station, changing instead to an outstation. The good effects, however, were still of importance at this time.

C. Architecture

The effect of the physical environment kept architecture still within the same general restrictions as before; and the effect of the political situation seemed not to exert a great influence over building and repairing, for work progressed at an acceptable rate. The conditions found with the main stations in their early days applied to those newer stations, such as Mabotsa and Kolobeng, which were being founded and later abandoned--the former when the Chief and people migrated because of Boer pressure, the latter when the Chief moved his people after the Boer attack at Dimawe. The original type of reed and wattle construction remained only for the new stations until something better could be raised, and for those situations which demanded temporary and transitory building. The permanency of the station still seemed to be of great importance, modified only by semi-local political conditions and disturbances.

In general, especially in the older stations, the trend was definitely away from this in favour of brick or stone structures. The importance of such building was still caused by the partial lack of suitable material, the obvious strength and permanency of this

type, as well as the increased comfort, but also the desire to get the Natives to build such structures for the purpose of anchoring them to a definite community permanently. This last motive, as well as the assumption of the superiority of this type of building, may be seen quite clearly in the following statements:

> "The present appearance of the village presents stone or brick houses of European form."[1]

> "Several of the natives have built, and others are building for themselves substantial houses. This we have long desired to see...True, their native houses required no great bodily labour though often neat and of considerable dimensions, but the fragile materials of their construction required frequent repairs and often to be entirely renewed. Besides, they were otherwise unsuitable to people who had laid aside their heathen habits and who felt that they required more light in their dwellings and conveniences corresponding with their increasing appreciation of civilised life. It is now very gratifying to us to enter these new habitations and to witness the order and neatness apparent in them, in imitating as far as they can, our own dwellings."[2]

It may be seen, then, that the general trends in architecture had been laid down in earlier periods and were merely being continued at this time. In relation to the growth of civilization in the area, the most important factor was Native imitation of European building methods and forms, for with this imitation the Natives were becoming more like their European neighbours and were becoming more adjusted, at least to a certain extent, to the new social environment in which they and their missionaries found themselves.

D. Agriculture

[1]Hughes and Solomon to Tidman, 7 October 1843.
[2]Moffat to Tidman, 28 October 1856.

In the period 1840-1860 agricultural policy became greatly clarified, and motives and means seem to have been more sharply defined in the thoughts and actions of the missionaries. Most of the agricultural activity centred around the two irrigation projects of the time--one at Likatlong on the Vaal River, initiated by Helmore, which failed because of a flood which washed away the dam and the spirit of the people,[1] and the other near the present town of Douglas, at the junction of the Vaal and Hart Rivers, initiated by Hughes, which also failed because of the overwhelming scale of the work as compared with the resources, both labour and financial, available.[2] As forerunners of the great modern irrigation works in that part of the country, however, they are of importance.

The desire for an agricultural rather than pastoral economy, seen to a certain extent in former periods, came clearly into the forefront with definite statements. Both projects had behind them the three motives of advancing civilization, congregating the people for easier religious instruction, and safeguarding them from land displacement at the approach of the white man. The advancement of civilization may be seen in the following statements:

> "Before they can make the desired progress in civilization, something must be done for them in the way of procuring for them a better patch of ground, having fountains, or otherwise some artificial means must be used with the Vaal River, so as to avail themselves of its water."[3]

[1]For the development of this project, see Helmore to Tidman, 5 January 1851 and 9 April 1852.
[2]For the development of this project, see Solomon to Tidman, 20 July 1847, 7 May 1850, 30 May 1859, Hughes to Freeman, 18 March 1850, 6 December 1858.
[3]Hughes to Tidman, report for 1846.

> "I had hoped by our plans at Backhouse to relieve that distress, to raise a spirit of enterprise and improvement in the district, to give new impulse to its civilisation, and put the mission in a position to become in a few years self-supporting."[1]

Speaking of the effect of an irrigation project on Native retention of land in the face of European emigration, Helmore said:

> "Instead of being forced to recede at the approach of the white man, the Bechuana will be placed in a position to carry on a friendly traffic."[2]

The value of the projects in terms of settling the people down, not only that they might receive with more ease and frequency the Christian message, but also that they might advance in civilization through agriculture, is set forth clearly in the following quotations:

> "We had looked forward to that (Vaal River project near present day Douglas) as the best scheme for concentrating our people as well as improving their temporal prospects, so that by collecting our people more closely around us we should be able to carry on our work with more comfortless labour, and greater efficiency."[3]

> "It will imperceptibly draw off their attention from the ancient customs of their fathers, it will make them more permanent in their places of abode, and better adapted to receive the instructions which they have from the mission among them."[4]

Finally, it must be noted that in the minds of the missionaries, civilization was part of the total message of Christianity as passed on through them. Their duty was not solely to preach and convert, but it spread to the upbuilding of the people among whom they worked.

[1]Hughes to Tidman, 18 March 1850.
[2]Helmore to Tidman, 9 April 1851.
[3]Solomon to Tidman, 30 May 1850.
[4]Ross to Tidman, 18 October 1850. See also Moffat to Tidman, 22 November 1852.

This close, almost indivisible connection between Christianity and social uplift, was to continue for the remainder of the century, taking various modifications in differing situations. Most of the irrigation projects failed for several reasons: the Natives did not fully understand the implications and work involved, the projects required too much labour and time, the physical environment of the country stifled initiative and achievement, there was a lack of sufficient funds, and inadequate missionary knowledge hampered efficient conclusion to the work. Too much needed to be done, and too much was attempted for the physical resources available.

E. Efforts toward Missionary Recession

The goal of self-support, already noted in pervious periods, continued to be striven for at this time, despite the comparative lack of support by the physical environment. Agriculture no doubt helped to raise the standard of living by supplying daily needs in more abundance and by providing surplus products with which to have surplus capital. On the other hand, the increasing demands of civilization and the desire for luxury items placed financial pressure on the people and to a certain extent harmed the progress toward self-support.

> "The principle is acknowledged by all, but when the time to collect comes round they plead poverty, or inconvenience of various sorts. But in justice to them we must remember that they are just emerging from barbarism--their artificial wants are many and increasing in ratio with their civilisation's advancement."[1]

[1]Hughes to Tidman, 29 November 1853.

As in former periods, the Auxiliary Missionary Societies played an important role, but the increasing use of funds collected locally for local needs and projects changed the nature of the Societies to a certain extent. During the early 1840's, funds were placed primarily into the general fund of the Society, controlled strictly by the missionaries, and used to lower the sum sent to the mission from London, thereby freeing the equivalent sum for use elsewhere in the mission world. This method was to be modified in part shortly, however. The trend toward local use of local funds may be seen in the case of the young mission at Mamusa, as an illustration.

> "The sum contributed by the Auxiliary Society for the past year is £19-4-6, but the greater part of that sum is paid to a native for teaching in the school and given for the purpose of erecting a small temporary chapel here upon the voluntary principle."[1]

Other sources leading to self-support are the printing press, the profits of which were diverted to other causes, and the voluntary labour of the people themselves, which lowered the cost of construction and supplied still the bulk of Native teachers in the educational system. The press can not be considered strictly as self-support, however, for it did not stem directly from the Native. Rather, it was more in the line of a business venture of the mission, regardless of its essentially religious nature.

Coupled with the allocation of some local funds for local expenditures was the beginning of self-examination concerning self-support. The fact was generally known and acknowledged that the

[1]Ross to Tidman, 19 October 1846.

success of self-support was far from complete. The cost of maintaining the heavy machinery of missions in the Cape Colony and Bechuanaland was not diminishing as it should be, and this fact coupled with extra financial restrictions in London meant that something had to be done. Several times the L.M.S. headquarters sent letters urging the cutting of expenses. The missionaries at Kuruman, especially Robert Moffat, suggested a solution which eventually was put into effect.

> "In conclusion we would fain hope that some means will be adopted, which by the blessing of God, will relieve the Society from its embarrassments. As to the best means of reducing its expenditures in this country, we can only suggest one plan--that of leaving the missions in the Colony, and all others that are able, to support themselves."[1]

One very important case appeared in this period. Philippolis, though not directly within the range of this study, nevertheless was close enough to the Bechuanaland and Griqualand missions to be of significance, especially as it served the role of link between these missions and those in the Colony. There an experiment in self-support was initiated, though it would not have qualified as a station obviously able to support itself. There was a gamble involved, but it succeeded.

> "I am happy to inform you that up to the present time the experiment of self-support has completely succeeded, and I am now quite confident that should no unforseen convulsion occur in the quarter the Directors will not be called upon this year to meet any of the expenses of the mission. You will also be glad to hear that our schools and congregations are increasing. We have now at our day school at Philippolis an average daily attendance of 180 children.

[1]Hamilton, Moffat and Ashton, report from Kuruman for 1846. For other signs of uneasiness concerning self-support failure, see Solomon and Hughes to Tidman, 6 November 1845, Solomon to Tidman, 13 November 1848, Hughes to Tidman, 24 June 1856, and Ross to Tidman, 2 January 1857.

> The minimum attendance at our Sabbath services has also risen from 250 to at least 400 and ranges from that to nearly 1000. Our people are also busy building nine respectable houses in the village, nine are in the course of erection, four of which are nearly completed and others will soon be commenced."[1]

Another significant effort, though not so successful, was attempted directly in Griqualand West. Hughes tells of the attempt and the factors which hindered its development in the following letter:

> "You will remember that this is the plan I proposed two years ago, for bringing these people to support the ministry for and among themselves. It is certainly time that they did support their own ministers. But they have so long been accustomed for me and my predecessors to receive our salary from the London Missionary Society, that they can not realise the change we plead for, till it be forced upon them. Now is an opportunity for that in part, by your insisting upon it that they pledge for the support of the new missionary, as my assistant, or colleague, or as my successor, and that you will leave me in the district or withdraw me, as circumstances may require. They will have to feel the possibility of my being withdrawn, to rouse them to the effort that we desire from them."[2]

It must be noted in this letter that Hughes seemed to favour African support of the ministry in Griqualand, whether that ministry be missionary or Native. The actual support of the missionary never came about, and it would seem in the long run that this was good, for the possibility of local support of the missionary would have been very bad policy. In that time and place, however, the problem lay in relieving the Society from support of both missionary and Native agent, not in the reverse. An example of the trying situation may seen in the sense of despair found in many letters, of which the

[1]Solomon to Tidman, 10 April 1856, see also his letter, 22 December 1856.
[2]Hughes to Tidman, 24 June 1856.

following is representative:

> "I am sorry that the self-support system is so backward among those who have had the Gospel for more than twenty years. How the Gospel is to be upheld when missionaries may be prevented from living among the Aborigines, is a question which ought to be seriously considered by all who wish well to the Kingdom of Christ."[1]

The problems of self-support and the raising of a Native agency came increasingly at this time to go hand in hand, for the main object, aside from easing the general expense of the Society and erecting church buildings, was in providing for a paid agency, whether in the form of teachers or ministers, for the large number of out-stations which could not be cared for properly by the small European staff. It is not surprising, then, that much time and thought were devoted to the recruitment and training of such indigenous workers. A statement from the L.M.S. headquarters lays the basis for the period:

> "Next to the possession of the Word of God--the stability and enlargement of the Mission-Churches must ultimately depend on a Native ministry, suitably qualified for the sacred office. The want of this, in some of the scenes of the Society's early work, has been one of the chief causes of that mental feebleness and moral instability which we have had to deplore. The Directors, therefore, in later years have not failed to urge upon their Missionary Brethren the necessity of adopting measures for preparing approved Christian converts as Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers of the Native Churches."[2]

By this time, there is not doubt, if indeed there ever was, that the missionaries considered some form of Native agency not only desirable but necessary. They came to this conclusion partly through the conviction that the people must eventually take over the new Church in

[1]Ross to Tidman, 2 January 1857.
[2]L.M.S. Report for 1844.

order to free the Society to move on to new areas, partly through the pressure of the Directors who were feeling the need even more strongly because of their world wide contacts, and partly because of pressing external circumstances. The various statements of the missionaries show obviously that they were in favour of increased Native agency, the periodical letters of the Directors to the missionaries reflect their concern over the problem, and the pressing external circumstances are shown in the following statement from a letter to the Directors:

> "Owing to the prevalence of severe draught, and the consequent failure of the fountains of the head station, as also the failure of nearly all the fountains of the district, a state of things in externals has prevailed which was in many respects extremely trying both to ourselves and our people. The unavoidable dispersion of the Griquas of the head station, Hardcastle, and other places, the restlessness of many under the pressure of their circumstances, and the temptations to which they were exposed in an open country like this--although the trial has resulted in the furtherance of the Gospel, still, a state of intense, and indescribable anxiety was kept up in our minds for the safety and advancement of the mission. This situation showed us a more excellent way to evangelise our large district than the one which we had adopted, which was confining our individual efforts to a spot and allowing the gifts of the church to be dormant, whilst numbers around us were sitting in darkness and shadow of death. Trying circumstances at length compelled us to call into exercise all the sanctified talent of our church to meet the exigencies of the case. During the last seven or eight years, the period of our trial alluded to, we trust we can say with truth that many hundreds have been turned from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God. Many of these have been and still continue to be made blessings to others, and we rejoice to behold our brethren around us applying to the public to assist them with native agents, adopting the same arrangements as ourselves for multiplying their own energies and saving the people by the use of native agency, and that there is the promise of an

abundant harvest."[1]

This situation, seen in an earlier section, forced the missionaries to place more responsibility and trust in the work of the Africans; in return, the results were most gratifying to them. Not since the pioneer days of the mission had the use of such a spontaneous movement of evangelization been employed to such an extent. This statement, which shows the good effect of voluntary, lay evangelism, is but one of the several interpretations of the nature of Native agency. The earlier periods showed that much of the help used by the missionaries was of this type, though over a more restricted area. Native agency came to include voluntary teaching as well as evangelism, and also paid teachers and evangelists. In a large number of cases, the functions of pastor and teacher were combined. Voluntary teachers were a part of the programme in Griqualand West, as well as at Kuruman.[2] In speaking of his development of such help, Ross stated:

> "From what I have experienced of native character among the Bechuanas, I have seen that those who have a strong desire to teach, and voluntarily begin the work without any regard to remuneration, are eventually the best constituted for it. As this is the plan which I have adopted and still carry on among the young men at Taung, I am compelled to say that this matter of fact everyday work is superior to all the philosophising upon colleges, academies, and self supporting institutions adapted for other lands. These may be raised up at comparatively little expense, and as it is a scriptural admonition to lay hands suddenly on no man, all right hearted men would teach as well without as with a salary, until they give evidence of being suitable persons, but when they spend

[1]Wright and Hughes to Freeman, 15 October 1841.
[2]Wright and Hughes to Freeman, 15 October 1841, and Ross to Philip, 20 January 1842.

> much time in teaching among the natives, it would then be a fit time to give a small remuneration."[1]

Not all the indigenous agency were voluntary, however. The stage had come which saw some of the Native teachers paid--some from funds raised and allocated locally, some from mission allotments, and some from individual donations in Britain. The pressing need for local financial support of a tryly Native ministry is put strongly by Hughes, who wanted an African to succeed him.

> "When such assistant comes it must be greatly if not entirely at their application and promise of support for him. We must impress it upon these people that my successor must be applied for by them, and promised a reasonable salary. When we say that our churches will soon support their own ministry, we do not always mean an European ministry. Perhaps but few of our stations can look forward to that. My pleading has been as you will remember that the churches be led on to support a native ministry. That does not need for many years to be so expensive as the European ministry. Moruani is already supporting its own native ministry, and sends a few pounds to the society as a thank offering. But we must have a moderately learned native ministry, and that presented to our churches as waiting their call and support."[2]

The necessity for a better trained Native agency, as well as for a self-supported one, became increasingly evident to the missionaries at this time.[3] The general goal was to have some sort of Institution for the training of an indigenous agency, and in this they were fully supported by the Letter of Instructions.

> "A Seminary of a superior order may, in course of time, arise and require your attention; we mean one more directly appropriated to the fitting of suitable persons

[1] Ross to Tidman, 7 July 1845.
[2] Hughes to Tidman, 4 December 1855.
[3] Wright and Hughes to Freeman, 15 October 1841, Ross to Philip, 20 January 1842, and Moffat to Tidman, 14 August 1845.

for the ministry of the word among their brethren."

After warning against becoming too involved in an institution for general education, literature, and science, the Letter states the vital goal of such a place.

> "The great object of the education to which we refer, and to which your attention should be directed, is to put the individuals in possession of a sound and extensive knowledge of the Word of God, and a fitness to communicate that knowledge to others."

The task of establishing such an institution was far from easy. When the Directors circulated a letter asking the opinion of the missionaries regarding its possibility, almost unanimously they replied that the time was not yet ripe. For some years, the training of a Native agency remained in the form of informal instruction, carried on by individual missionaries with the few helpers they needed and recruited for their own districts.[1]

One attempt was made toward such a Seminary with the tentative appointment of Ashton to train the Africans, but it was not successful even in starting. Though there was much thought and desire for a formal education, in this period the system remained haphazard, uncentralized, and dependent upon the efforts and discretion of the individual missionaries in their particular districts.

F. The Progress of Civilization

The period 1840-1860 seemed to be a time in which policies and

[1]For statements concerning individual district work, see Ross to Tidman, 8 March 1843, Moffat to Tidman, 14 August 1845, Ross to Tidman, 24 January 1846, Hughes to Tidman, 19 November 1846, Ashton to Tidman, 24 September 1849, Solomon to Freeman, 28 March 1850, and Ashton to Tidman, 15 October 1850.

actions affecting almost every phase of life in Bechuanaland and Griqualand West were brought more sharply into set patterns. The subject of civilization and the role played by the missionaries in the planting and growth of it likewise came more to the front. For instance, a strong paternalistic strain ran through the thought of the missionaries, undoubtedly present from the very earliest days of the mission.

> "We must deal with the nations of Africa as a father deals with his offspring--educate them, train them, and settle them in hope. This must be done for the tribes of Africa by the Christians of Europe and America independently of the personal salvation sought for the individuals, otherwise Africa will never rise to a self-supporting manhood."[1]

In this letter may be noted, not only a paternalistic attitude, but also the conviction that personal conversion must be accompanied by civilization--that personal spiritual salvation and national material salvation must go hand in hand if the most is to be achieved in either sphere. Convinced of this need for civilization in Griqualand, and presupposing the vital link between the spread of Christianity and the intensification of this civilization, the missionaries among the southern stations of the territory came to the conclusion that perhaps the influx of the Europeans, despite its obvious evils, could be of some use to the welfare of the Natives and of benefit to mission activities. In the following statement, frustration and despair are mixed with the feeling that white men from civilized countries might be instrumental paternalistically in the spread and

[1]Hughes to Tidman, 11 February 1847. See also Hughes to Tidman, 15 September 1848 for the same idea.

deepening of that civilization among the tribes of Africa. While the missionaries farther to the north still seemed to want to develop civilization among their people without entangling alliances with the Cape Colony, the attitude expressed here is the logical conclusion to a policy in Griqualand which seemed from the first more inclined toward intercourse with the Cape, even to the point of annexation.

> "Perhaps we may say that Africa will not become civilised without the plantation of civilised settlements among its nations as examples and stimulus for imitation. The arts and sciences of civilised life must be exemplified in their benefits upon society to their occular demonstration before the nations will avail themselves extensively of the same. Missions as settlements among the nations, in addition to their more high and glorious purpose, act as forerunners or rather as pioneers of civilisation. But to this object their outfit and means are very circumscribed, and hence the probable necessity of bringing the nations more generally into contact en masse, with nations already advanced in civilisation. I do not sympathise with those that think that Africa can be exempted more than other countries from the condensing pressure resulting of necessity from the rapid increase of the human family, and which is to become the means of their universal civilisation. The 'pressure from without' which is so absolutely needful for improvement of either individuals, families, or nations, will unavoidably extend itself to the whole of the human family, and that under Providence, for their ultimate good. These matters give us great anxiety, and will require persevering labour to conduct them to a successful settlement."[1]

The pressure of increased European migration and its effect on the missionary attitude toward the development of civilization may be seen in the letters of this time. Especially in the south, where older stations were faced with problems of Native dislocation from

[1]Hughes to Freeman, 20 July 1844.

traditional lands, and also had the resources built up over a period of time to do something to alleviate the situation, are efforts to protect the Native from encroachment and eventual displacement by raising the Native standard of civilization seen. Civilization, then, came to be not only an accompanying factor of the spread of the Gospel, and to some extent a preliminary step in the minds of the missionaries to evangelization, but also a means toward Native defense. The primary reason for the agricultural schemes of the time, apart from general material benefit, was to secure the land for the Africans, and the reasoning behind civilization in general came to be to prepare the Africans to stand on an equal footing in civilization with their white neighbours and thereby to secure their place in the total society which was fast rising in south central Africa. This necessity may be seen in a statement written by Hughes to the Directors:

> "Their civilisation is needful for the permanency of their evangelisation. Christianity can not become self supporting among them but in proportion to their earthly means. I have been led into this impression by my deep concern for their future permanent location, which, may God in His Fatherly care provide for them. And let the Society bear with me when I say that the saving of the nations by the Society from the mistakes and guilt of heathenism, includes in itself a parental care and watchful eye, and a fostering benevolence continued to such communities as God shall give them from among the heathen, as shall insure them safe settlement and location on Christian principles of civilisation."[1]

As the emigrating white population moved north, the same attitude

[1]Hughes to Tidman, Griquatown report for 1846.

came to be voiced among the northern missionaries, who were afraid for the African's future, especially without the equalizing factor of civilization.

> "The Society is losing what may prove to be its last opportunity of instructing and establishing the natives in a state of enlightenment and civilisation. It is not affirmed that Mahura's people, even if Christianised, would stand their ground before the white men, only that this is possible; whereas, leave them in their uncultivated condition or even in a transition state, and that they will be scattered before white settlers is certain, and merely a question of time."[1]

It should be noted in this statement that civilization is considered as an inevitable result of Christianity, and that the saving factor for the African is civilization through the medium of Christianity. Without doubt, then, a new trend in the civilizing efforts of the missionaries had come to the front in response to the increased European emigration--that of using civilization, and by inference, Western civilization, as the means of protecting the African from personal and tribal loss of identity and importance, and of placing him in a position of equality to take his place in the new European civilization. Civilization was not just something desirable as in the earlier days; it was now something essential for the future welfare of the African, and it remained so for the remainder of the century.

As in former times, efforts at planting civilization among the Natives presupposed a dissatisfaction on the part of the missionaries

[1]Mckenzie to Tidman, 3 October 1859.

of the present state of the people among whom they worked, their attitudes and practices. It is not difficult to find indications of disapproval, though the attitude of the missionaries had altered in proportion to the changes they had been able to effect. Logically, the strongest protestations were found on the new stations, and the most moderate on the older stations where changes had been brought about. Illustrative examples of the new station attitude may be seen in statements by Ross and Edwards, resident at Taung and Mabotsa respectively at this time.

> "The Bakhatla are as pure specimen of degraded savageness as are any tribe to be found in this part of Africa and which is the glory of the chief more especially, who is besides despotic, vain, insatiably covetous, and mean, a staunch adherent and zealous advocate of heathenism, and has no taste for civilisation or in any way appreciates the benefits the Gospel imparts to mankind."[1]

> "He (Mahura) has nearly succeeded in stopping dancing, heathen singing, and public working on the Sabbath day. His house is now the resort of those who fear God, and instead of the obscene dance, and the blasphemous song, we now hear them singing the praises of God in Christ."[2]

By contrast, from the older stations came reports showing a more moderate attitude in proportion to changes made, and statements of those changes.

> "We are aware that we need not expect that this generation, nor perhaps the three or four to come, will come up to that standard of pious zeal which we find among educated people. We are too well acquainted with the slow progress made even by the Caucasians in civilisation for hundreds of years to feel much disappointment with what we witness among this of the human race, who are universally allowed to be less apt to learn than their white neighbours."[3]

[1] Edwards to Tidman, 12 August 1849.
[2] Ross to Tidman, 17 July 1844.
[3] Moffat to Tidman, 3 November 1851.

> "When I think of the darkness from which our people have emerged and the miserable manner in which they are still living, I cease to wonder at their apparently slow progress and feel surprised that they have advanced so far. Whole towns and villages have renounced heathenism. No dancing, no heathen songs are heard in their midst. Christianity is established and civilisation follows, and we are constrained to exclaim, The harvest is great but the labourers are few."[1]

The reports were full of statements varying from disapproval of such native customs concerning rites, clothing, polygamy, etc. to an account of achievements indoing away with them and replacing them with customs more in keeping with the concepts of the missionaries. To quote them would be exhaustive. The fact stands clearly, however, that a considerable change had been made in the Native mode of life, and that the missionaries were beginning to take a more liberal view, mostly in proportion to the changes that had been made.

G. Conclusions

The conclusions of this period differ from those of previous times to the extent that they are set against the background of increasing social change, instead of an isolated environment, far from the presence and thought of any European community outside of the small missionary band. When the pressure of this factor is kept in mind, those changes in missionary thought and practice appear naturally to fall into line as consequences of and adjustments to the new situation. The urge to evangelize remained of prime importance, but the concomitant factor of civilization and the total

[1]Helmore to Tidman, 2 February 1855.

programme of physical uplift arising out of Christian motives was of course influenced by external pressures. For example, seeing the door being shut to the east by the Boers, the missionaries began to look for other fields of labour, and the result was the exploratory work of David Livingstone. Again, the failure of many fountains in the south led to a widespread dispersal of the Native population and forced the missionaries to rely on voluntary lay members to uphold and spread Christianity among the people. This action was one of the healthiest stimuli of the time, but unfortunately was cut short by the extreme climatic conditions. Increasingly with the pressure of Boer hostility to the east, and the more internal problem of land-grabbing individuals, British and Boer, the missionaries turned to Government, not only for peace and order in tribal disputes and land injustices, but also for protection from Boer pressure. This alliance with Government even took the form of armed aid to Government troops against the Boers on several occasions, and severe disapproval at the recessive action of the Government regarding the Transvaal and Orange Free State. In the field of education, the missionaries began to look on training as a means of social adjustment—a preparation of the African for life in a growingly predominant Europeanized area, and such developments as the use of English for teaching and conversation indicate the trend. Mission literature also took on a wider scope which showed that work was not just to be in religious instruction but also in other fields which enlarged the total mind

and prepared it to function in a more complicated social structure.

Architecture, though strongly modified in form and content by the dry conditions of the country, still seemed to follow as closely to European patterns as possible under the circumstances. Permanent buildingd definitely took the place of the more flexible Native structures, with the result that the missionary was virtually chained to the spot, except for occasional itinerating journeys. In addition, religious services were whenever possible held in permanent buildings designed for the type of service used in the background of the missionaries. Generally, though, the place of architecture was for the time of secondary importance, giving place to other aspects.

Agriculture was of first importance in this period. The effect of the times may be seen in the use of it for securing lands to the Africans who were faced with individual and tribal displacement. Comparatively, the projects attempted by the missionaries were of great importance, though their failure was due primarily to the scope of the work and the inadequate facilities at the disposal of the missionaries. The adjustive nature of agriculture, not only in securing the land but in civilizing the people, was an important factor of the time, and continued to be so for considerable time.

Efforts toward missionary recession seemed at this time to lag behind, and effects did not match efforts. Generally, it may be said that progress was made in diverting more of the local funds into local projects such as buildings and agency, but control remained

solely in the hands of the missionaries. The matter of self-support, as will be discussed later, necessarily means also self-government, for without it no permanent scheme can be carried out. Such control of money as well as of other matters seemed to make no appreciable progress in this period. Exceptions, such as the populational dispersion in Griqualand West and a measure of independence at Philippolis, if followed through on general principles, might have had a great effect. As it was, they seemed to have been isolated cases. A Native agency, while growing to a certain extent, still definitely remained in the helper stage, as no independent orgained ministry had yet appeared. Hope was put in a future formal training of such candidates, but when the time came at a later time, the results were far from satisfactory.

Through the various aspects of mission life and labour ran the work of civilizing the Natives as a part of the programme of Christianity. As the missionaries more and more found themselves in a Europeanized environment, they accepted this part of their work. Education tended to become more European, agriculture came more to have the task of putting the African on a level of civilization equal with his white neighbour, and even the customs of the people had been so modified over a period of time that among the Native Christians at least there was not the wide gap of customs and mores which had existed formerly. Though the civilization urged by the missionaries is not absolutely defined at this period, the fact that they

were trying to accomodate the African to the ways of the neighbouring white community certainly indicates that a great portion of it was Western in nature or intent. Not much had been done to this time in the preservation of the essentially good in the African way of life, nor had a basically anthropological viewpoint emerged as yet. They were in a curiously transitional state of attitude, where the embryonic newer views were mingled with ways and means inherited from the earlier pioneer days.

Chapter V. 1860-1870.

A. Background

The decade 1860-1870 saw many changes and increased difficulties due to the intensified social, political, and economic conditions of the time. The key to the new situation was the discovery of diamonds in Griqua Territory. A new economic factor entered into the pastoral and agricultural area north of the Orange River and brought economic maladjustment in its train. If the influx of European farmers had caused great changes, how much more shaking was the diamond industry which brought increased immigration, displacement of Africans from traditional lands, urban life, and tribal breakdown from the extensive use of Native labour in distant mines. No longer were the missionaries free to work in an isolated or semi-isolated environment. From this point on, they were working with a section of the population of a largely Europeanized land.

The political effect of the diamond field was also of significant importance, for the Orange River which had come to be the northern boundary of British territory after Government withdrawal from the Transvaal and Orange Free State territories could no longer be the limit if Britain wished a share or domination of the rich diamond lands. Various claims for the area were made by Waterboer, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal Republic. Arbitration was found necessary, and Mr. Keate, the Lieutenant Governor of Natal, drew a boundary line between the Transvaal Republic and the

lands of Waterboer and the Bechuana Chiefs to the north. For several reasons, among which were the large influx of British diggers, a plea for aid from Waterboer, and the desire for control of the diamond field, the territory was annexed in 1871 and a line drawn to separate the diamond district from the Orange Free State. This decade, then, immediately preceeded the annexation, and marked an important stage in the mission history of the area.

With increased Government activity, it is of importance to note the attitude of the missionaries toward Government and the extent to which it was altered under the conditions from that held previously. Feeling the increased pressure from Boer and other European emigration, and the general resulting unsettlement, the missionaries continued their dislike of the Boers with renewed tempo. Especially among the eastern stations was this conflict present.

> "Our mission station at Likhatlong is one of considerable importance. Its lands lying conterminous to the Free State, members of which are always endeavouring by not the most honest means to procure land and push out their weaker neighbours. On this account, one of some experience who has acquired the language would be the best to deal with the subtilty of such aggressors."[1]

The same fear and pressure were present in Griqualand--a situation which heightened even more the past predisposition toward amalgamation or closer ties with the Cape Colony.

> "During 1862 severe threats have come to our ears saying that the lands around her, Backhouse, and around Campbell, are about to be claimed by the authorities of the Orange Free State on our east, as to become part of their Free State, and at its disposal. Chief Waterboer has made a

[1]Moffat to Tidman, 20 August 1863.

> written and printed protest against the intrusion by the Free State, and just now all is still."[1]

The conclusion of this situation was the sale, against the wishes of the missionaries, of some of the land in the eastern section of Griqualand West to English settlers, in preference to the Boers. This, coupled with an extensive drought which reduced the Native population to a handful, marked the virtual end of the Griqualand mission, at least as far as resident stations were concerned, and placed the missionaries in the position of ministering to the African portion of a Europeanized territory. The same situation applied to Likhatlong.

Under the circumstances outlined above, it is not surprising to see that the missionaries unanimously favoured the permanent settlement of British Government in the territory north of the Orange River. Whatever disagreements or grievances they may have had, Government was to them an agency for peace and protection, and far more preferable than rule by the Boers. In the letters of the missionaries of this time may be seen both preference for British rule and political participation on the part of the missionaries both to influence the Native Chiefs to sue for protection and the Government to grant it. An example may be seen in a letter from Ashton:

> "The Boers however profess to have respect to Yanke and his people as they had no hand in the war of '58, but they cannot be trusted. Yanke has therefore just written a letter to the Governor asking for protection, and I,

[1]Hughes to Tidman, 12 January 1863.

> with a translation of the same, sent to the Governor an account of the contention between the Transvaal and the Batlaping to the present time."[1]

The discovery of gold added to the general problem arising from Boer emigration, and brought pressure to bear farther north. Here the reaction was the same as in the south--increased leaning toward the Cape and political participation.

> "With reference to the discovery of gold in Macheng's country, the Chief threw himself upon me with information and guidance; and I had no hesitation in recommending, as one of two alternatives, that he should seek the aid of the English Government rather than that of the Transvaal. Without unduly entering into political or secular matters I gave it to be generally understood that in a case of such importance affecting even the very existence of the tribe in the future, I should feel it my duty to give Macheng my best advice and assistance. Mr. Good will continue this line of conduct, but as he has got to learn Sechuana, Mr. Price has agreed to accompany the expected Government Commissioner as far as Soshong, to be present at the negotiations on behalf of the Society as well as on behalf of the Chief and people."[2]

The attitude toward Government, despite periods of strong disagreement and exhaspesation concerning such actions as withdrawal from the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State, still remained one of general approval. Aside from the material benefits and stimulus to trade and civilization which the Cape seemed to offer in the minds of the missionaries, especially the southern ones, the favourable attitude toward Government seemed to vary according to the degree of unrest and environmental pressure, The greater the perils, the greater the longing for Government.

[1]Ashton to Mullens, 23 August 1869.
[2]Mackenzie to Mullens, 20 January 1869.

B. Education

In the field of education during this decade, the same general factors remained, with certain significant modifications. Education was still vitally connected with the spread and deepening of Christianity among the people. For instance, in most places, especially Kuruman, the ability to read the Scriptures continued to be a prerequisite to church membership.[1] As more importance was put on the education of the people through the mission schools, these schools came more and more to serve in the minds of the missionaries as means for conversion of the young people and as centres of Christian nurture. More and more evidence indicates a slow change from evangelization, especially at the larger centres, and direct conversion expesience to a more indirect environmental influence in the practices of the missionaries. Examples of this may be found in the influence exerted on the young children in school and the widespread teaching of Christian knowledge. The indirect approach by no means supplanted the more direct evangelistic approach, but the importance of the former had certainly gained in appreciation.[2]

The most significant element of the educational programme during this decade has already been noted in the stages of growth in former chapters--the role played by mission education indeveloping civilization. This position takes various forms from openly and strongly

[1]Moffat to Tidman, 17 January 1866.
[2]Moffat to Tidman, 23 December 1861, and 20 August 1863.

encouraging the development of civilization along Western lines to the preparation of Natives for life under some form of European Government within a Europeanized social environment. With all due fairness, however, it must be stated that part of this tendency was precipitated by conditions beyond the control of the missionaries, such as European emigration, though much of what happened must be ascribed essentially to missionary origin, stemming from their concept of a more ideal Native culture.

> "We are pioneers to save souls for heaven, and put the people while here in a civilised state, and able to bear the contact and Government of the whites without destruction."[1]

Further indications of the use of education for this social adjustment to the European civilization may be noted in the enlarged curriculum to be discussed in a subsequent section. Concerning the teaching medium in use, it may be presumed from the elementary nature of classes in English and lack of evidence to the contrary, that the schools continued generally to be taught in the languages native to the people. One exception, though not dealing directly with the education of Africans, may be found.[2]

The actual development of the mission school system continued along the same lines noted in earlier periods. In the field of printing activities, the main stress was on school teaching materials and non-Biblical religious reading.[3] It should be noted that

[1]Hughes to Mullens, 16 December 1867.
[2]Ross to Tidman, 21 October 1861.
[3]Ashton to Tidman, 16 April 1861.

at this time all the work of building a Sechuana literature was done by missionaries in the form of translations from British works, and that most printing and writing occurred in the very early part of this decade. Such work during the latter part was primarily negligable. Thus, the real activity should more properly be included in the period 1840-1860, rather than in the decade 1860-1870. The causes may be found, for the most part, in the diversionary problems facing the missionaries in the whole social maladjustment of the territory.

The curriculum, mentioned earlier in connection with the growing link between the development of civilization and education, shows a desire on the part of some of the Natives to learn the language of the British emigrants. Kuruman was the only station having this development, because of the reduced number of well established stations, Griqua Town and Likhatlong having come into severe restriction of work. The new stations to the north were far too fluid at this time to have had such a programme.

> "A few of the young people have set themselves to acquiring English, and though it is uphill work they are inclined to persevere."[1]

This new function of the mission education, while not extensively or overly important at the time, nevertheless was the root of a problem which was to grow to much larger proportions in later

[1]Moffat to Tidman, 23 December 1861.

periods. The curriculum in general contained reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and general knowledge at Kuruman[1], while a new attempt at the fast dying station of Griqua Town contained only reading and writing.[2] This was a period in which the southern stations were declining because of overwhelming social and environmental conditions, new stations in the north were just beginning, and only Kuruman remained reasonably stable.

The very distressed condition of the Griqualand district, due to adverse conditions, led to an interesting development. The first man-missionary school existed for the instruction of the children of Chief Waterboer and those of people able to pay the tuition of 10/ per month. The annual Government subsidy for schools, declined by the Directors of the Society, applied to this private school, and Hughes, though not commenting directly, seems to have preferred education under the direction and control of the mission. His attitude toward Government subsidy, though not shown here, has been seen in earlier statements, to be quite favourable and indeed necessary. This type of school existed for a very short time, however, and again left all education in the hands of the mission.[3]

C. Architecture

The decade 1860-1870 was one of expansion north with new stations at Shoshong and Molepolole, reoccupation of Taung, and

[1]Moffat to Tidman, 5 November 1860, and Mackenzie to Tidman, 14 May 1862.
[2]Good to Tidman, 28 June 1866.
[3]Hughes to Tidman, 6 January 1864.

attempts at consolidating the dwindling population of Griqualand. Under these conditions, the work of architecture was devoted to building new structures in the north, repair at Likhatlong and Taung, and limited building in Griqualand. The pole and reed buildings were confined to the new northern stations and the reoccupied Taung, though only as a temporary measure until the permanency of the stations was confirmed. Very shortly brick or stone houses appeared in the north and at Taung.[1] Repair work was the chief architectural occupation at Likhatlong.[2] In the spread of brick or stone structures may be seen the continued encouragement of Native imitation of European architecture[3] and the increased use of European labour, when possible, for constuction[4], at Molepolole, Taung, and Shoshong. It is obvious that the missionaries would have preferred more Native imitation, but the conditions of times prevented this.

> "The imperfect state of the country's Government is to be blamed for this continuance of the beehive huts of the natives. Here is no personal property in the soil--all feel themselves liable to be driven away at a short notice. For such a state of Government, they find their movable huts convenient."[5]

The size of missionary houses seems to have grown in this period. The new building at Shoshong, and especially the missionary house

[1] For accounts of these buildings, see Brown to Mullens, 25 January 1868, Price to Mullens, 15 December 1868, Price to Tidman, 2 December 1864, and Mackenzie to Mullens, December 1867.
[2] This work may be seen in the letters of Ashton to Tidman, 9 February 1864, 24 April 1864, and 1 October 1866.
[3] A representative example is Ashton to Tidman, 9 February 1864.
[4] See Price to Mullens, 11 July 1867 and Mackenzie to Mullens, December 1867.
[5] Hughes to Tidman, 28 December 1864.

at Backhouse, seem to have carried architecture into a third type beyond the pole and reed, and the simple brick or stone structure, for both stand in great contrast to the other homes about them.[1] In the original home environment of the missionaries, the size of house would not have been unusual, but in central Africa, it must have seemed large indeed. The culmination of this enlargement was institutional construction, which makes its appearance in the next period.

D. Agriculture

Little agricultural activity was noted in the letters of the missionaries during this period. In the south, the Vaal River project, begun some time before, finally ended in defeat. Faced with the encroachments of hostile farmers and land grabbing speculators, and droughts which were drying up the fountains of Griqualand West, the southern missionaries had tried one last effort to save the area for the Africans. Its failure was due primarily to the largeness of scale necessary and immense amounts of money. Again the missionaries had been forced into the position of having to attempt too much with too few resources.

> "The scheme we proposed two years ago for the leading out the water of the Vaal River, after a noble commencement was relinquished with the promise of a speedy return to the work, and though it may be the opinion of some that it will still be recommenced, I for one have not the least hope. Had the plan reached completion it would have been the means of collecting the entire population and have furnished a sphere of use-

[1] For a description of this building, see Hughes to Tidman, 23 December 1861. Note also in Price to Mullens, 15 December 1868, the description of a similar house at Molepolole.

fulness, a better than which could not have been desired."[1] The general motives and presuppositions, found in earlier periods concerning the value of agriculture to the missionaries, may be presumed to apply to this decade, though no direct statements confirm this. To the north, Price completed an irrigation, though on much smaller a scale.[2] Otherwise, agriculture gave way for the time to other activities and problems.

E. Efforts toward Missionary Recession

In the hard times of this decade, it is not surprising that efforts toward self-support suffered. Internally, the missions were having a difficult time with the recession in the south due to drought and European emigration, and in the north with the heavy burden of expansion. The Auxiliary Missionary Societies are not mentioned in the letters to the Directors, and it may be assumed that for the time they either ceased to exist in some localities or lay dormant. On the other hand, it is worth noting that there was decreased central control of funds in favour of district control under the individual missionaries. These local funds were of course supplemented by grants from the Society and by private donations for particular use.[3] Examples of the diversion of local funds into local projects were also rather numerous.[4] A final factor

[1] Bechuanaland District Committee report, 20 January 1869. The same feeling may be noted in Hughes to Mullens, 27 August 1867, and Good to Mullens, 28 November 1867.
[2] Price to Mullens, 15 December 1868.
[3] See Hughes to Mullens, 16 December 1867, and Bechuanaland District Committee report, 20 January 1869.
[4] Ashton to Tidman, 1 October 1866, Hughes to Tidman, 27 December 1866, and Price to Mullens, 11 July 1867.

in the self-support programme was the donation of free labour by the Africans, either in construction or teaching. Such illustrations may be noted in the letters of the time.[1] Without doubt the missionaries felt the necessity of self-support and urged upon their people such efforts. Especially in the south, where various pressures had united to make the mission position extremely difficult, self-support was linked with the necessity for a Native ministry.

> "Three months ago I told them at Griqua Town that they must look out for means to support a new, young missionary, as my assistant, on in my stead, that I feel I cannot do justice to the district. All this comes upon them in such hard times that I do not wonder to find them unable to meet our wishes, viz. that of putting the mission on self-supporting rules. They seem to have no plan by which they could promise you fully to support the young missionary now so sadly needed, so I encouraged them in October last, to begin a fund for the support of a native teacher for Old Griqua Town and the country around it. To encourage them in that I made a promise on the part of our Society, yourselves and the Directors, that I would return to them the contributions which came to my hands from Griqua Town and its immediate vicinity. It is time that the mission be self-sustaining. Perhaps the offer of a young missionary may infuse them and me with a new spirit."[2]

In the development of a Native agency, the need continued to be felt with a sense of greater urgency. By the end of the decade, the Bechuanaland District Committee, composed of all missionaries from Griqualand West to the borders of Matabeleland, made a concentrated effort to lay the groundwork for a systematic Native

[1] For example, see the Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 20 January 1869 concerning voluntary Native teachers, and Ashton to Tidman, 1 October 1866, Hughes to Tidman, 27 December 1866, and Price to Mullens, 11 July 1867 concerning donated Native labour for construction.

[2] Hughes to Tidman, 12 January 1863—also 26 December 1860.

agency by assessing the existing agency under the direction of the various missionaries. The importance of this survey, aside from providing statistical information, was that it heralded a change in policy. To this time, the development of Native agency was left to the individual missionaries in their own districts, so that clusters of workers gathered around the European agents with little or no overall organization. The only common ties were the common link of the missionaries to the L.M.S. and their Bechuanaland District Committee. No ecclesiastical organization such as a Congregational Church of Bechuanaland could exist on this basis, and certainly no regional Native Church could take root. Here, then, wa a first step in such a development, though it was primarily an analysis for the future training of such an agency. Its goal was education, and whether the motive of eventually bringing all the scattered clusters together into a united Church was considered a part of it is doubtful at this time. Nevertheless, it marked a first step, and was a move toward overall supervision rather than local.[1] The need for training a Native agency was the most important item concerning the African staff, especially along the lines of some type of Institution. The absence of a central training place plus the realization that no longer was the localized training by individual missionaries sufficient led the missionaries to make the above report and begin preparations for a Bechuanaland Institute.

[1]Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 6 January 1869.

All were unanimous in their desire for such a plan, though their concepts varied, as will be shown in later periods.[1]

Concerning the nature of the Native agency, it should be noted in this period that there still remained an incomplete definition between teacher and evangelist. In many cases, the agent was a combination of both, with ill-defined functions.[2] Other times, deacons or school teachers are mentioned, while in Griqualand West a regular Native ministry along Western lines was desired. With this variety of terms, it is difficult to draw a clear picture of an overall character of "Native agent." In this field, though, a standardized ministry was in the making, and shows itself more clearly in the laterpperiods. This decade may be considered as a transition one, with thought slowly clarifying itself.

The report of the Bechuanaland District Committee also shows the emergence of a paid Native agency. In Griqualand West, the proportion of paid agents was highest, due probably to the length of its establishment as a mission centre and also to the heavy dependence on and early use of such helpers. This larger proportion continued northeast around Likhatlong, but the majority of agents in the northern sphere of activity remained uppaid, probably because of the recent establishment of mission work there. From the

[1]For indications of this unanimous desire, see J.S. Moffat to Tidman, 15 October 1866, Hughes to Mullens, 29 July 1869, and R. Moffat to Mullens, 11 August 1869.
[2]R. Moffat to Mullens, 16 June 1867, and Good to Tidman, 28 November 1867.

reports, it may be noted that salaries varied greatly, funds were entirely in the hands of the missionaries, making them paid agents of the missionaries rather than the African congregations, and that except for deacons and unpaid teachers, they remained agents in a strict sense rather than established pastors, having their roots in the local church soil. To this point, the mission still had not achieved an indigenous Church and ministry independent of European supervision and control. Signs of coming changes may be seen, though, in such letters as the following, in which the necessity for ordination was strongly stated:

> "This district is 70 miles across, with those out-stations spread abroad over its surface, and I am the only missionary and the one to administer baptism and the ordinance, and how I am to meet all these demands I know not, except by a Native ministry, with Native pastors authorised to administer baptism, etc. I want to employ a Native preacher to go the round of all the outstations, strengthening them and reporting to me every three months. But that man must be a paid Native teacher, so that I might command his services with some regularity."[1]

The next period shows an increase in efforts toward an ordained, self-governing indigenous ministry, possibly as a result of this survey and quickened necessity.

F. The Progress of Civilization

Regarding the close connection in the eyes of the missionaries between Christianity and the development of civilization, it may be stated without reservation that no reversal of policy took place

[1]Hughes to Mullens, 29 July 1869.

during this decade; rather, efforts were quickened and the missionaries took an even more active part in the role of advisor and director of civilization among their people. More and more the realization that their territory was changing from an essentially isolated, Native land to one in which the African was a segment in a Europeanized civilization led the missionaries to try to adapt their charges for life in this new environment, and even in some instances to look with favour on this new emigration of Europeans as a means to civilizing the Natives.

> "Of course this movement (British into Backhouse) will have a great civilising effect on the Natives, and so we will try to make the best of it."[1]

In the beginning, Hughes was against the negotiations between Chief Waterboer and the new settlers, so it may be assumed that, as he says, under the conditions the emigrant farmers would be of help in the efforts toward civilization. The missionaries were trying to make the best of the situation, and were reacting to external pressures and conditions, for the new factor was there to stay. The influence of the Europeans, then, may be considered as another factor in the already established policy of considering at least a pseudo-European civilization as part of the Christian message.

The attitude of disapproval held toward the Native customs and mode of life, as in former periods, seems to be held in proportion to the extent to which the total Native life had been altered by

[1]Hughes to Mullens, 16 December 1867.

missionary efforts and other pressures. Increasingly fewer statements of disgust and animosity toward the customs are seen in this section, and in their place are seen accounts which show a clearer understanding of these ways of life from what might be called an anthropological point of view. Undoubtedly much change was due to lessened pressure arising from antagonism between Christian and heathen practices, and also to new missionaries who held different views from their older colleagues and accepted the new situation as the status quo rather than as a different condition from the past.

Criticism of remaining Native practices was limited largely to marriage, which was polygamous in opposition to the missionary insistance on monogamy as the Christian form of marriage, a misunderstanding of the current practice of "bride price", which was far from the concept held by the missionaries, the increasing drink problem, which was not essentially an original Native custom but introduced by Europeans, the scanty Native dress, which was in many ways more suitable than Victorian clothing introduced by the missionaries, and the initiatory rites of the tribes which had presented strong problems from the very first. An example of the missionary attitude toward marriage forms may be seen clearly in a statement by Ross:

> "The latitudinarian view of some reverend Doctors we utterly discard, for of all the evils of heathenism, bigamy and polygamy are some of the most trying, and hazardous to native Christians, and are the true causes of more real strife and contention than any

others I know."[1]

A further effort toward changing marriage customs was the discouragement of early marriages in favour of later ones, as may be seen in a letter by Robert Moffat:

> "One thing is worthy of notice as an improvement in Society. Early marriages on the part of females once so general now rarely occur in either sex. Most parents and children now see the propriety of our people being a suitable age before marrying and consequently more stability and domestic order is the result."[2]

In making changes in marriage customs, the missionaries inevitably ran against the initiatory rites, in which boys and girls became accepted members of the tribal system. To the African, marriage came after and depended upon this initiation, and the missionary attempts at abolishing this custom necessarily caused severe conflict in the minds of the people as to adulthood, tribal membership, and readiness for marriage. It also weakened tribal moral authority, giving the missionaries on the one hand a sort of vacuum to enter, but on the other doing a considerable amount of damage to the social context of life. That the missionaries did not fully understand the custom of bride price, as it is erroneously called, and the initiatory rites, whose obscene side was often the only one seen by the missionaries, is all too plain on even a quick glance at their letters.[3]

[1] Ross to Tidman, 14 June 1861. For a similar statement along this line, see Ross to Tidman, 19 October 1860.
[2] Robert Moffat in Committee Report, 20 January 1869.
[3] A fuller explanation of these customs may be found in the excerpt from I. Schapera, Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa, in the appendix.

The increasing drink problem, encouraged by European traders, was met partially by the encouragement of tribal prohibition through the Chiefs by the missionaries. Where they succeeded in persuading the Chiefs to enact such legislation, the results of excessive drink were to a certain extent avoided. Not all were thus influenced, however,[1] and some of the L.M.S. personnel resorted to temporary excommunication on this point. The personal attitude of the missionaries toward strong drink may be seen in their efforts to cope with this problem, though their realization of its devastating effects on the Africans seemed to outweigh their own particular type of Western morality. Further, the problem of drink does not particularly fall under the category of the attitude toward Natives and Native customs, for it was an imported problem, not arising out of the basically African mode of life.

The Christian Gospel, and especially the demands of Christianity as interpreted by the missionaries, had a disruptive effect on tribal life, as briefly indicated earlier. Divisions occurred as the converts renounced the old customs and challenged the old authority. Christianian individualism stood opposed to the tribal community concept, and mission agents often presented a second centre of loyalty apart from the Chief and elders. Especially was this true when the agent was appointed to a people not his own. The following statement will suffice to show this antagonism:

[1]Ashton to Tidman, 3 October 1860.

> "It is now more than a year since Montsioe the chief assumed an attitude of open hostility towards his Christian subjects. Matters were hastened by the unusually large number of young people who, under religious impression, ceased to take an interest in those subjects which engage the attention of the young in a heathen town. His decision was that they must first observe the usual customs of their forefathers, and especially that they must join in the reed dance, and that afterwards they might 'join the word of God.'"[1]

An illustration of the conflict in the mind of the people caused by the pull between the new and the old is seen in the dilemma of Sechele, an African Chief:

> "Sechele still occupies the same position, clinging with one hand to Christianity, and with the other to the world with many of its evil and vain practices."[2]

A clearer explanation of Sechele's problem may be noted in the statement of Livingstone, which incidentally displays the broader view held by this most interesting of missionaries:

> "The greatest sacrifice he had to make was the renunciation of polygamy; of all other sins, the natives had an idea that they were wrong, but this practice they never regarded as sinful. His superfluous wives were decidedly the most amiable females in the town--our best scholars, too; and, hoping that their souls might also be given to us, we did not feel called upon otherwise to press the point in question than by publicly endeavouring to declare the whole counsel of God. Two of them were the daughters of under-chiefs, through whose influence, on the death of his father, Sechele succeeded to the Chieftainship. This circumstance made his parting with them assume the appearance of ingratitude, and led him to propose to remove to some other country for four years, in order that they might, in the interval, forget him and become married to others. After being tried in various ways for a period of two

[1] Mackenzie to Tidman, 27 June 1862.
[2] Price to Mullens, 15 December 1868.

> months, he stood firm, and we proceeded to administer to him the ordinance of baptism. Many of the spectators were in tears on the occasion; but those were, in general, tears of sorrow for the loss of their Rain-maker, or of grief at seeing the closest ties of relationship to him completely broken."[1]

Doubtless, much of the tribal disorganization was due to the presence of the overwhelming European civilization, but much must be attributed to the strong demands made on the people to live up to the standard of Christianity preached by the missionaries and to the pattern of mission work which often set up conflicting loyalties within the tribal system. This particular problem, though essentially one of missionary practice and theory, nevertheless is a part of the subject of Western content in the missionary presentation of Christianity, for many of the contributing demands had their base in the Western form of Christianity represented by the missionaries.

All was not on the debit side in regard to the effect of the demands of Western Christianity on tribal life, however. Aside from the obvious spiritual benefits, one instance stands out as a sign of a new attitude toward the African way of life and the necessity for some sort of harmony between it and Christian teachings. Mackenzie, in paying respectful attention to local customs not opposed to Christianity in the celebration marking the end of labour on the new church at his town showed a deeper understanding and different attitude toward the established norms of behavior and pointed the

[1] Livingstone, article in Missionary Chronicle, vol. 13, p.115.

way to a different approach.[1] Too little had been done before along this line by the earlier missionaries who had the pioneer difficulties to cope with and were not as inclined as later men to the newer approach. Times continued to change, and with them, the men changed.

C. Conclusions

The period 1840-1860 was noted as the turning point in mission affairs, caused by the appearance in a once isolated area of European settlers. If the missionaries were beginning to feel that they could never return to the old situation, how much more they must have felt it when the discovery of rich minerals brought in hordes of white men who set up their own towns, Government, and civilization. In this decade, all but the more remote areas were feeling the effects, whether in land displacement, different ways of life, Government, or open hostility between groups. During this period also, the mission lands began to hold a vital position in the struggle for the interior of Africa, a situation which was to increase steadily until the international agreements were made at a later time. Whereas earlier, the missionaries had to contend with tribal disputes and then Boer infiltration, the time was rapidly coming when they were to be caught between two camps at odds with each other, the British and the Boers, all the while trying to protect themselves and their people from disaster. Politically, it certainly was not an enviable position. In this period,

[1]This letter may be noted in the appendix--Mackenzie to Mullens, 27 January 1868.

it must also be noted that the missionaries invariably threw in their lot with the British Government and tried in every way to persuade their people to do likewise. In any case, they probably would have done the same, but the situation was such that their work in this line was greatly accelerated. Later periods will show that they were products of their time in holding much of the benevolent imperialistic view of their country; this period shows the beginning of this attitude, much stronger than in earlier times, or at least more clearly defined as such. The idea of developing in isolation, or even of developing border Native states south of the Molopo River was gone, though north of that river in the area that came to be the Bechuanaland Protectorate Native states did develop on an antecedent basis, and the missionaries had to adjust themselves to work within a predominately European environment.

Educationally speaking, the missionaries, while not lessening their stress on conversion and the spread of religious knowledge, increasingly used their facilities for adjusting the Natives to their new life. This aspect, while originating in the previous period, came more to the foreground in this decade and continued to the end of the century. Agriculture, while not discussed to much extent in the letters of the missionaries, probably continued, even after the failure of the irrigation schemes, to help in this adjustment and to raise the people in the civilized arts. The continuation of the desire for Native imitation of architecture and the increase

of size in mission buildings leading eventually to institutional construction indicates that more and more the mission was in the area on more than a temporary basis, despite their intentions of training a Native agency to take over the work eventually. In the next period, the very large expenditure of funds began to worry the missionaries, and their efforts at making the machinery self-supporting indicates a basic problem. This problem of creating a truly indigenous Church in every sense of the term continued to be a great one. Financially, not much seems to have been done. All funds still remained in the direct control of the missionaries, and the high expense of maintaining not only the missionaries, but their physical machinery of schools, houses, etc., and the Native staff of workers remained high. The basic presupposition seems to have been that this outlay of money was necessary and that the only way to make the mission self-supporting was for the Africans to assume the total financial burden without any major changes of policy. Under the conditions, the task remained an impossible one except in isolated cases, and was even more so with increased expenditure. Concerning a Native ministry, the faith of the missionaries was put in the proposed Institution's being able to produce educated men who would take over the reins of the embryonic Church. Little stress was put on the natural abilities of tribal leaders for direction and leadership in the Christian groups. Instead, an educated group of young men, developed to the level of Western

clergymen, seemed to be the answer. Later periods showed, however, that such was not the answer. It must be noted also that in all spheres of mission work, responsibility remained solely in the hands of the missionaries, and not much initiative and trust placed in the people except with missionary direction and oversight. Essentially the work remained as a mission, and not as a Church, and the workers remained as helpers rather than as genuine independent leaders.

The subject of civilization continued to weigh heavily on the minds of the missionaries. From the very earliest period, they had felt this to be an important part of the Christian message no doubt because of the fact that in their home country Christian people were highly developed in civilization. The idea of Christians being comparatively low on the scale of civilization seemed impossible. With the influx of white men, they felt strongly that the Natives must be raised appreciably, not only to be better Christians, but also just to retain their identity, even existence, in the new environment. In reviewing past achievements, they noted great changes in customs and attitudes, and noted them more with a sense of relaxed liberalism than with the stern uncompromising spirit of past days, except in those areas where the newness of the work had not yet allowed such alterations to be made. They were coming to a long perspective, in which they stated that the civilized arts naturally took many generations to achieve, as had been the case in Europe.

This newer liberal spirit seemed to be gradually making its appearance in which the good of the old system was being studied; but it must also be remembered that the missionaries were approaching that generosity of mind made possible by past achievement, for they were in a more secure position than had been the pioneers. As yet, no concentrated effort had been made to heal the social wounds caused by the disruptive element inherent in Christianity and Western ways of life, but the possibility of such work was stronger with the dawning of the newer spirit than with the older dogmatic viewpoint. Civilization was no longer a desirable concomitant to Christianity in an isolated area--it had become a necessity for social adjustment and survival in the new environment, and as such became an integral part of the Christian message and work in the remainder of the century, especially in its more Western aspects.

Chapter VI. 1870-1885

A. Background

The factor which coloured the life of the period 1870-1885 most was the political environment. For this reason, this time is marked arbitrarily at the above dates, with the discovery of diamonds and subsequent annexation of Griqualand West to the Colony and the marking off of the line between British and Boer territories by a definite border at the beginning and the establishment of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the beginning scramble for mineral concessions in Rhodesia, and the marking off of a border between British and Boer territories farther to the north. In addition, it marks the end of service for some of the key men and the appearance of new men--a factor which had some effect on the forming of new policy.

In the preceeding decade, it was shown that Boer emigration had caused considerable trouble to the missionaries and African tribes. The discovery of diamonds brought further problems which emerged in this period. Not only was the conflict between settler and Native, but also between Boer and Briton, for with the discovery of diamonds came border disputes and a horde of diggers, capitalists, and company promoters, as well as farmers--an influx which upset still further the Native life and the settled homesteaders. The border decision known as the Keate Award defined British and Boer territories, gave the diamond area to British supervision, and

led immediately to the annexation of Griqualand West to the Cape Colony. Aside from the fact that the Boers were not satisfied with this decision, the border to the north was not settled until the Pretoria Convention in 1881, and even then the Boers encroached on the borders of Bechuanaland by forming two small republics, Stellaland and Goshen. After much trouble over boundary disputes, an expedition under Sir Charles Warren swept away the two republics without opposition, borders were firmly established, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate established under British control.

With such a stormy background, it was inevitable that the missions and their personnel would be greatly affected, especially in the field of politics. Several problems connected with the political background of the period influenced the attitude of the missionaries toward Government. A great amount of presseure was put on the more southern stations and personnel through the presence of mining operations and their accompanying influx of Europeans. In addition, the very touchy problem of land distribution, Native displacement from traditional lands, and the ensuing tribal disorganization due partly to land displacement and partly to the influence of the mining environment on those Africans who took up work there, forced the missionaries increasingly into the role of mediator and social reconstructionist. Definitely no more were the missionaries free to follow the older pattern of evangelization and haphazard social improvement. They were working in a Europeanized

area and had to take their own relationship to Government, and the relationship of the Natives both to Government and to the Europeans, more into account. For that reason, their total dealings with Government and with the new white population are most important, because it is in that context that much of the criticism of missionaries as agents of the whole Western structure of life instead of merely distilled Christianity applies.

The attitude toward Government and the participation of the missionaries in political matters involve several background factors worthy of consideration. The leading problem of the time, due to the influx of a European population, was that of Native displacement from their traditional lands. The missionary letters of this period are full of statements regarding the trend and its effect both on Native life and the functioning of the missions in the area. In the southern part, Government recognition of a Chief as paramount when he was not led to injustice in its dealings with the other Native leaders. The missionaries of the area were drawn into the problem which lasted for years until finally unsatisfactorily resolved. As early as 1871, the problem of land, especially in the south, which first felt the pressure of emigrants, had arisen.

> "I expect Waterboer will hand us over to the Colony for a good sum, all of which he and Arnot will pocket, and then the country will soon become too strait for our people. Even now they are very much annoyed that they cannot any longer let their cattle graze along

the Vaal River as formerly."[1]

Not only were the Natives finding the loss of their land hard, but the missionaries discovered that the subsequent Native depopulation necessitated abandonment of their southernmost station, Backhouse, at least as a resident station, and the similar consideration of abandonment of Likhatlong.[2] By 1880, the effects had become all too clear, regarding the future of the station at Likhatlong and similar ones in the area:

> "Soon after Likhatlong and surrounding country were unjustly taken by the British Government, and the best parts of the land given to Europeans, a good many of the people left the district to go beyond the boundary--hence we have not now more than half the number of members at Likhatlong and district that we used to have before the country and the people were freely annexed."[3]

Not only was the future of the southern stations threatened, but more widespread effects were noted to the north. The proposed Institute was difficult to locate on Native land, because the people were afraid to give land to white men, even missionaries, fearing that other settlers would follow and take all the land.

> "I believe the real thought that is at the bottom of all this is the political situation in the Batlaping country, the taking over by the English of the Griqua country, and the expected taking of the Batlaping territory also. The people in the interior wish to maintain their right to their country inviolate, and

[1]Ashton to Mullens, 14 September 1871. See also Wookey to Mullens, 11 December 1871.
[2]J.S. Moffat to Mullens, 15 December 1871, Ashton to Mullens, 3 January 1872, Ashton to Whitehouse, 19 August 1874, and Ashton to Lieutenant Colonel Crossman, 9 February 1876.
[3]Ashton to Whitehouse, 5 January 1880.

> they think granting a site for a large school would interfere with this. I believe they positively refused to give any title deeds or writing of any kind with reference to the mission premises at the Bakwena."[1]

Thus, the missionaries were forced to suffer the consequences of the actions of their own people and Government, regardless of their innocence in the land displacement. Because of this whole problem of land, an uprising in the south in the latter part of the 1870's took place--instigated and carried through by the more unruly element of the Native population, but nevertheless a symptom of the deep unrest and social disorganization prevalent. In may ways, it was an earlier parallel to present-day disorders in Kenya, for the missionaries were forced into the position of taking the side of peace and order, which in their minds was generally held by the British Government. To many, it seemed the missionaries were siding with the Government against the Africans, and those Africans who remained loyal to the missionaries and Government were considered as white man's stooges by the more unruly element. Consequently, the missionaries were considered as enemies, along with Government, and subjected to danger and persecution.

> "I fear they have made no distinction even between those who have tried to help them and be their friends, and those who have been their greatest enemies. Missionaries, traders, land-jobbers, canteen keepers, etc. have all been put down in the same catalogue as destroy-

[1] Mackenzie to Robert Moffat, 1 May 1874. This reference applied specifically to Khama who would not give a freehold site at Palapye for the Institution. According to Native law, the Chief did not actually own the land, but controlled and administered the land which was of tribal ownership; as such, he could not dispose of it permanently or alienate the land from his people. Since other Chiefs were doing this, his inability would be somewhat modified in the light of actual practice.

> ers of the country. I have been told again and again that we are deceivers, and only trying as Agents of the Government to get the country."[1]

Even the station of Kuruman, farther to the northwest, was not safe from destruction.

> "The programme was short and explicit. Whoever lived near to white men were to rise upon them unawares, and put them to death. Special instructions were given as to missionaries. Formerly it was said, they had been spared, and allowed to leave their stations in peace, but not so this time. The missionaries were to be killed with the other white people, and especially those connected with the new school at Kuruman which was stealing the hearts of their young people."[2]

The disruptive effect of Western Christianity upon the old religion and social patterns of the tribes was seen as one element of the white man's culture, and as such was marked for destruction. That the missionaries had not been able to dissociate Christianity from a particular race and culture in the minds of the Africans is self-evident from the above quotation. Speaking after this war of the attitude toward missionaries by the Natives, Brown said:

> "I believe that there is a wide-spread feeling of suspicion especially in the minds of those who have not embraced the teaching of the Gospel. During the recent war, missionaries were to many people simply white men, and as such were the objects of dislike if not of hatred. In my opinion, many of those who profess just now to have full confidence in the missionaries, are those who have, or think they have, something to gain from the English through their influence, while those who have anything to lose by annexation of the country are suspicious."[3]

[1] Wookey to Mullens, 3 September 1877.
[2] Mackenzie to Mullens, 1 June 1878.
[3] Brown to Whitehouse, 5 September 1879.

The missionaries, placed in a very troubled area full of injustice and social maladjustment for the Africans, very naturally took a more prominent role in political participation. As Christian ministers, it was their duty to work for the welfare of their people, spiritually and physically. The land problem just discussed brought a host of letters to and interviews with important figures, in the hope that such correspondence would move official circles to mend wrongs brought about by the Government and European emigrants.[1] The problem of the importation of strong drink by Europeans also received the attention of the missionaries, for they sent a petition to the Queen for removal of canteens from the territory in the interest of the Natives.[2] A letter from the Bechuanaland District Committee to Sir Bartle Frere[3] is of special interest to this study, because in it the missionaries suggested a rather complete plan for incopporating the Natives into the total territorial life, and most of the social suggestions were later apparent in Government policy. Likewise, much mission advice may be seen in the policy of Warren whose actions in this area were of great importance.[4] In the line of political participation by contact with influential persons, the Bechuanaland District Committee urged that political pressure be brought to bear upon the Home Government to act con-

[1]Ashton to Mullens, 25 September 1875, 5 April 1876, 15 July 1878, Ashton to Sir H. Robinson, 16 January 1883, Ashton to Lieut. Col. Crossman, 9 February 1876, and B.D.C. to Sir B. Frere, 25 January 1879.
[2]Sub-Committee minutes, 11 June 1877.
[3]This letter may be noted in the appendix.
[4]Wookey to Mullens, 23 December 1878.

cerning Boer infiltration into Bechuanaland and the setting up of the two republics of Stellaland and Goshen.

Among the missionaries themselves, various shades of opinion were present concerning political participation. At one end were men like Mackenzie, who was a strong advocate of missionary action.

> "In this country the old ideas as to eschewing politics have prevailed and have come down to our own time, in my opinion with signal loss to the people. Some missionaries have declined even to write a letter for a chief; others have sent a strict translation of what the natives have managed to squeeze into writing, instead of giving the chief's exact ideas, in English equal to his Sechuana. In other cases the missionary is a man, at whatever station he is placed, to whom men of all opinions and colours go for advice and assistance when they need them; thus called upon, he is not afraid of going into their grievances or difficulties, exposing now the white man and then the black man. In this case the missionary becomes a power in the country. Chiefs and people with a grievance know where they have a friend. Europeans seek his advice and assistance."[1]

Other men, typified by Brown, held a much different viewpoint.

> "Early in my missionary life, I formed the opinion that the line of demarkation between the missionary and the government official cannot be too clearly marked. I have as yet seen no reason to alter that opinion. Schemes have been proposed before today for bettering the position of the coloured races which have either proved failures or have been suspended before they were fairly tried. Given an abortive effort at settling the land question of this country, or a scheme which eventually results in wrong to the natives from a native point of view, and I hold that no missionary can be known to be associated with that effort or scheme without the fact having an injurious effect upon his own position, and to some extent also upon the position and influence of his brethren."[2]

[1] Mackenzie to Whitehouse, 25 September 1879. A similar additional statement may be found in Mackenzie to Thompson, 27 June 1882.
[2] Brown to Whitehouse, 5 September 1879.

It is not surprising, considering the chaotic political background of the period, to note that despite certain disapproval at the bad actions or complete lack of action by Government the missionaries still favoured the coming protection of British authority, allied themselves on the side of Government against the unruly element in the Native population, and in many cases helped its coming by advice and action. Primarily, the criticism of Government was concerned with the problem of land displacement and the injured rights of their Native charges.[1] Toward the close of the period, when many tribes had come within British territory and supervision, Boer infiltration of eastern Bechuanaland in the form of the two small republics of Stellaland and Goshen put a great deal of pressure on Natives unable to protect themselves. Feeling it the duty of Government to help these people, and seeing that nothing was done, the missionaries became critical of an inactive Government policy. Wookey summed up the situation well when he wrote:

> "The whole country is in the greatest confusion, and it is expected that the whole of it will be overrun. There is no check put upon them, and all their demands are being granted as far as one can see. The chief and people who gave in their adherence to the British Government are, on that account being worried by these Boers, and the English Government has left their allies to Boer tender mercies, after making them the fairst promises. Better had the natives been left

[1] Regarding the land problem and missionary political participation in behalf of Native rights, see Brown to Whitehouse, 5 September 1879, Ashton to Whitehouse, 1 September 1879, and Ashton to Mullens, 14 September 1871 and 13 July 1876.

> alone altogether to have made what terms they could with the Boers, rather than to have had this state of things."[1]

Despite these criticisms of British failure, the missionaries were nevertheless generally most favourably inclined toward the entrance of Government into the territory, for various reasons. As early as 1870, the problem of the Boers raised the missionary desire for British intervention.

> "I have some hope that the diamond discovery may lead to a stop being put to Boer annexation in these parts by introducing another power at variance with the Transvaal Government and thus strengthening the hands of the native tribes along the Transvaal border who are now beginning to see the necessity for a combined defence of their country."[2]

Toward the end of the period, when Stellaland and Goshen became a serious threat, the missionaries again showed their inclination toward annexation in order to escape rule by the Boers.

> "They say the Colonial boundary should be extended so as to include all Batlaping territory, and away north to the Molopo, so as to keep the road open for trade into the interior. Should this be accomplished, then all our stations, Kuruman included, south of Kanye would be in the Cape Colony, and under British rule, and therefore we should no longer be harassed by the Boers. If we don't annex 'Stellaland', etc. the Transvaal Government will do so, and then the Boers will very soon have the whole of the Batlaping country, Kuruman included."[3]

In the same vein, the social environment among the African tribes was one of increasing anarchy, varying according to areas of course, with few Chiefs willing or able to exercise benevolent control over

[1] Wookey to Thompson, 13 September 1884. See also Ashton to Thompson, 5 April 1882 and 29 August 1884.
[2] Brown to Mullens, September 1870.
[3] Ashton to Whitehouse, 6 May 1883--also 4 January 1884.

their people. Seeing the need of their people, it was quite natural that the missionaries wished for a stabilizing element to be introduced, as they had often regarded the British Government in times past.

> "Much of this evil in South Bechuanaland may be ascribed to the want of a proper, stable Government which has long existed, and a state of anarchy, which, had it not been for missionary influence, would long ago have resulted in utter confusion."[1]

The effect of Government and the presence of British diggers in the area prompted different opinions in the missionary circle. Some, such as Brown, were fearful for the sake of the Africans of the vast and swift changes to come.

> "As the (diamond) fields must be given over to the British Government, the only question involved is which party will benefit by the compensation, and from what I have already seen among our people at Lekatlong, I think it will be far better if they retire and avoid the demoralizing effects of their present proximity to the fields."[2]

Others, however, saw beneficial results from the proximity of the European population, though it is possible that they were trying to make the best of the unavoidable situation.

> "The establishment of a large town at Kimberly, not far from Likhatlong, and also of a smaller one at Klipdrift, now called Barkly, which is the territory of Janje, had given a great impetus to native industry; formerly the people had no markets open to them sufficiently near to stimulate them to grow more grain, etc. than they required for their own support; but the Diamond Fields were no sooner opened, than the natives began to cultivate Kaffir corn, and maize in great abun-

[1] Wookey to Mullens, 3 September 1877. For other indications of social disorganization, see Hepburn to Mullens, 20 April 1875, and Wookey to Whitehouse, 1 January 1884.
[2] Brown to Mullens, 24 June 1871.

> dance, for this purpose they sold cattle and sheep to buy ploughs, and last year, Janje's people alone have sold some thousands of muids of grain, to supply the Kimberley market; and not withstanding the great number of natives engaged in the various mines, grain is now so plentiful that the market is overstocked."[1]

The problem of the Boer republics[2] further increased the favourable opinion of British Government, despite the minor disagreements and complaints; thus, it is not surprising to note a strongly felt desire for the spread and intervention of British Government.[3]

B. Education

In the field of education, the work of the missionaries showed a definite sensitivity to the external political conditions. It would be only logical to presume that in times of comparative peace, the educational programme would operate more smoothly than in times of social upheaval, and indeed such was the case. In the early days of the period, there was a definite desire on the part of the Natives for education, but toward the end, education was found to be in a low state. An example of this situation may be found in the following statement by Price:

> "The schools and especially that in the Bakwena town are flourishing. I have given in the statistics, 160,

[1] Ashton to Lieutenant Colonel Crossman, 9 February 1876.
[2] This problem may be seen from the missionary point of view in Ashton to Thompson, 5 April 1882, Mackenzie to Thompson, 8 April 1882, and Wookey to Thompson, 13 September 1884. A resume of the situation may also be found in the Minutes of the B.D.C., 19 May 1882.
[3] This strong feeling may be noted in the books of Mackenzie, his letter to Mullens, 18 August 1877, Ashton to Mullens, 15 July 1878, and Wookey to Mullens, 23 December 1878.

> as the average number of scholars, male and female at the three schools, but this is by no means the number of young people who are learning to read. Nearly every cattle outpost is a school on a small scale. I can safely say that there are as many learning to read out of the schools as in them."[1]

On the other hand, Wookey stated in his report to the Directors a much different situation toward the close of the period.

> "Our school is much about the same. The present unsettled state of the country is very unfavourable for it. Some of the elder boys who have been in some time, are leaving, and others at present do not seem to be coming forward to fill their places."[2]

Further effects will be seen in the function of education in the total mission programme.

Despite the falling off of interest in education among the African populace, certain educational development did occur. For several years, the Directors and the missionaries had been wanting some sort of Institute for the formal training of a Native agency, but on each occasion the time was not considered appropriate. Finally, at the beginning of this period plans were approved and an Institute begun at Kuruman. The sole function originally of providing a Native agency was left without doubt in the resolutions of the Bechuanaland District Committee.[3] It was soon found, however, that the educational standard of the village schools was not adequate to produce good material for the Institute. To change

[1] Price to Mullens, 30 November 1870.
[2] Wookey to Thompson, 15 September 1882. See also Good to Whitehouse, 25 August 1879, Mackenzie to Whitehouse, 26 August 1879, and Wookey to Whitehouse, 15 September 1882.
[3] B.D.C. minutes, 29 July 1871.

this condition, a Boys' School was inaugurated to prepare promising students for theological and teacher training.

> "Our idea is, that provision should be made at once for the boarding, lodging, and educating a number of promising lads, in the hope that some of them would afterwards become students for the ministry. Such a 'high school' for youths is necessary, not only to keep the supply of students for the Institution, but also that those who enter it as students for the ministry may be better prepared to do so. See Mr. Mackenzie's first report of the Seminary, as to the very low state of the previous education of the present students; from which it would appear (as I have heard it stated by some of us) that we have begun at the wrong end, we should first have had the 'high school', and afterwards the Seminary."[1]

By 1879, the Institution, still in a somewhat embryonic state, was undergoing an enlargement scheme based on earlier plans. Subsequent records, however, show that it was never to reach the hopes shown in the minutes of the Bechuanaland District Committee:

> "Resolved: that 'the enlarged scheme' for the Moffat Institute ought to embrace the following branches, to be developed as soon as practicable viz:
> a. Theology--Training evangelists and pastors
> b. Training of School Masters
> c. Boys' and Girls' School
> d. Agriculture
> e. Press: Printing, Book-Binding and Stationery
> f. Trades: Wagon Making, Blacksmithing, and Building"[2]

The general expansion of the school system continued as missionary influence penetrated into areas farther from the older established stations. Especially in the north, relatively untouched for a time

[1] J. Moffat to Whitehouse, 15 September 1874. See also J. Moffat to Whitehouse, 19 August 1874, Wookey to Mullens, 13 October 1874, Sub-Committee minutes, 11 June 1874.
[2] Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 6 February 1879.

by the upheaval in the south, did the work go on.[1] Later in the period, however, even this work suffered from the political environment. Around Kuruman in the early part of this section, educational work spread with the use of volunteer teachers.[2] As times passed conditions got worse, and yet the missionaries wanted better village schools in order to feed the Boarding School which in turn would provide material for the Theological Department of the Moffat Institution.

> "Mr. Brown's classes are atppresent 'preparatory' classes--that is, preparatory to the Boarding School in its normal state, when it will be fed by village schools."[3]

> "Many of the boys when they come, know simply nothing; not even the Sechuana alphabet. I don't think the school should remain on that footing any longer than is possible. The teaching simply to read and write should be done in the ordinary day schools."[4]

Along with general partial development of educational facilities went the expansion, amidst strong currents, of Native teaching staff. The training and increased use of African teachers necessitated some provision for their financial welfare on the part of the missionaries. As an example, after listing thirteen outstations in the Kuruman district where such agents were employed, Mackenzie said concerning pay:

[1]Price to Mullens, 5 July 1870 and 30 November 1870.
[2]Wookey to Mullens, 11 December 1871 and 18 May 1876.
[3]Mackenzie to Whitehouse, 26 August 1879.
[4]Wookey to Whitehouse, 1 January 1884. See also J.S. Moffat to Mullens, 7 September 1876.

> "...at only two of these places besides Kuruman have we been able to make an allowance to the teacher. At the Batlaros six pounds per annum are allowed from the Kuruman station grant, on the stipulation that the people add other four pounds themselves. The teacher at Maroping also receives six pounds per annum. The Kuruman schoolmaster gets twelve pounds per annum from the station grant; and I have lately given the teacher of the large and important school at Daniel's Kuil a few pounds, which I would wish to raise to ten pounds per annum. At Griquatown the teacher Jan Sepigo is provided for by special contribution from the church in Moffat. A small sum given per annum to teachers at the villages mentioned above to which local contributions would be added, would enable the teachers to stay at home and stick to the school; whereas at present, they have ever and anon to leave the teaching in pursuit of a livelihood."[1]

The difficulty of achieving goals in this period may be seen in a comparison between intentions and results. That the following hope was far beyond actual achievement is obvious.

> "Resolved: that the Native Evangelists be paid £50 per annum, recommended to be paid by the Parent Society.
>
> That the Committee recommend that the necessary outlay in completing their traveling outfit, be sanctioned by the Directors, and that the sum be laid before the Board as soon as possible.
>
> That the salaries of the Native Teachers labouring among the native churches be paid £40 per annum, to be paid from the native church fund in the hands of the Local Treasurer."[2]

From this it may be seen that a Native Church was being formed, with a distinction attempted between its pastors and teachers, supported by the local congregations, and roving evangelists, supported as agents of the Society proper. In both this distinction and in pay, for the time being the missionaries failed to achieve fully

[1] Mackenzie to Whitehouse, 7 October 1880.
[2] Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 27 October 1875.

their goals.

The vital connection between education as a means to civilization may be seen in the continued role played by education and the missionaries in preparing the Africans for life in the new Europeanized environment. Especially in advice and in the teaching of English was this function executed.

> "The Directors will please take into account the political circumstances of the country, and the immense importance to the natives of knowing English. Indeed to learn English, and to be able to read documents and accounts, is one great reason which has induced Bechuana parents to pay for the education of their boys. Take away English from the Boys' School and your school will be deserted at once by all who pay."[1]

By the end of the period, English was not only taught in a widespread manner, but it had also become the teaching medium, at least in the Institution and larger station schools. The situation had become very laregly reversed from the earlier days, when the desire was voiced that all teaching should be in the languages native to the people. Such changes wereedue, according to evidence available, not from the express desire of the missionaries primarily, but from the altered social conditions in which they worked. The popularity of mission education which came to rest on its practical use in the changed society instead of on more purely Christian

[1]Mackenzie to Whitehouse, 26 August 1879. See also Ashton to Whitehouse, 6 February 1879, Brown to Thompson, 6 January 1881, Mackenzie to Thompson, 22 June 1881, Ashton to Thompson, 19 May 1882, Wookey to Thompson, 8 December 1882, and Wookey to Whitehouse, 1 January 1884. For the general attitude toward social adjustment, see Bechuanaland District Committee to Sir Bartle Frere, 25 January 1879.

instruction, was a dangerous basis and an unhealthy trend which is reaping its own reward in missions today. While religious instruction seemed not to diminish greatly, the much larger increase of purely 'secular' educational content tended to change the emphasis and set up a new proportion which would allow education without conversion or spiritual deepening. Without doubt, the trend began in the preceeding decade and gained momentum in this period--parallel development with the Europeanization of the territory.

Two final factors need to be considered in the overall educational situation of the period 1870-1885. In earlier sections, the sporadic desire for Government assistance was noticed, but each time the missionary hesitation at too close an alliance with political affairs, the attitude of the Directors in London, and external affairs prevented full development along this line. Again at this time, the desire for Government assistance was voiced--a close parallel with the activity between the missionaries and Government in the development of the territory.

> "A letter of Mr. Samuel, Deputy Inspector of Schools in the Cape Colony having been read, in which he offers Government assistance to schools in Griqualand West, which is now included in the Colony, if the secular instruction is placed under Government inspection, Resolved: That the brethren having pastoral superintendence of the districts referred to, be requested to correspond with the Superintendent of Education on this subject, with a view to the organization of these schools."[1]

[1]Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 8 May 1882. See also Ashton to Whitehouse, 8 November 1883 and Wookey to Thompson, 28 May 1884.

As in other facets of the educational programme, the work of printing and translation began the period in a fairly promising state. The new edition of the Bible and other publications were in the process of preparation, and there seemed to be an anticipation for future work needing completion.[1] Built on the experience of many years, scholarly works concerning local life and languages were appearing[2], but the lack of a printer made the final publication of such contributions sadly lacking. This deficiency, plus the preoccupation of the missionaries with other pressing matters, meant the cessation of an educational element which was vital to the expansion of education, and probably was a contributing factor to the low ebb of education in the latter part of the period.

> "I need not point out the necessary connection there is between elementary education and elementary school books, but I must tell you plainly, that for my part, I do not see the least prospect of our being able to 'stir up the parents and chiefs to set a highervalue on elementary education' until we can give them something more to read than the Bible and Hymn Book; for these are the only books we have had for years in Setlaping, and sometimes we have been short even of these. Twenty years ago, we had in addition to these, 'Line upon Line', 'Pilgrim's Progress', Borough Road School lessons and a Monthly Periodical, partly religious and partly secular, some times afterwards we had 'Come to Jesus'. Now we have none of these books, nor have we had for years. We have not even New Testaments, nor spelling books, nor alphabet and other sheets for boards to teach with in elementary schools."[3]

[1]Mackenzie to Mullens, 9 August 1871, Ashton to Mullens, 3 January 1872 and 4 March 1875.
[2]Ashton to Mullens, 27 October 1875.
[3]Ashton to Mullens, 31 July 1879.

After many requests for a full-time printer, one was sent in the early 1880's, but the effect of this move could not be evident until the following period.

C. Architecture

The effect of the political environment on architecture was two-fold. In the south and east, especially in those areas most affected by unstable conditions, the uncertainty of the future concerning land ownership and permanency of tribal residence curbed extensive architectural development. Kuruman, farther to the west, was an exception to this rule. North of the Molopo River in what is now known as the Bechuanaland Protectorate, conditions still were favourable, and much work was done there.

As was seen in former periods, the definite swing away from the original pole and reed mission structures continued, so that only two examples were mentioned in the reports;[1] however, one of these was a shift from the more primitive type to brick, and the other was stated to be only a temporary church until a more substantial structure could be erected. A minor distinction should here be made as to African building methods. In the south, the pole and reed variety was prevalent, while among the northern Tswana the round hut of clay moulded by hand and thatched with grass and reeds was in use. In either case, the missionaries preferred the stone or brick building to the older types. The day had long since passed of the temporary construction as far as the missionaries were concerned,

[1]Williams to Mullens, 26 May 1871, and Good to Mullens, 28 April 1876.

and with it any effort or desire to harmonize with the Native method in the hope of making Christianity indigenous through architecture.

The stage of brick or stone had become virtually universal in missionary structures, though to a much lesser extent among the Africans themselves, and in this period the effect on building procedure by the European emigration was evident in the appearance, for example, of such things as iron roofs.[1] The new idea penetrated down into the local churches in at least one instance, probably through missionary initiative.[2] The trend toward Europeanized architecture, started very early in the mission history, was accelerated, then, by the presence of the European population in the area.

The rise of buildings noted for their greater size in the past has already been noted. Before this type, structures were much larger than the African building, but still not on a scale comparable to those in Europe. This type, however, was very similar to European scale, and the appearance of institutionalized architecture along the line of this larger type further complicated the matter. Despite efforts to make the Institution self-supporting, the day was very far off when the indigenous Church could afford what to them must have been a very large project, though it was thought by most of the missionaries to be a minimum size and necessary to the on-going educational scheme of the mission. The problem of ex-

[1]Ashton to Robinson, 30 September 1874 and Ashton to Mullens, 11 November 1878.
[2]Price to Mullens, 2 July 1879.

pensive and elaborate institutionalization has been a difficulty of mission organizations for many years and had its beginning in undertakings such as this.[1] In all fairness to the men, however, it must be stated that some of the missionaries, especially J.S. Moffat, condemned the elaborate and costly architecture of the Moffat Institution, but were overridden. The significance of this level of architecture, then, was primarily in the burden it would lay on the Native Church in future years, and the lack of foresight of missionaries looking at what to them was a necessary step in the Christianization of the people through essentially European eyes.

The continued process of Europeanization of mission architecture, even to the point of Gothic church windows, etc., was due at least partly to the increased use of European labourers. In earlier days, most of the work was done by the missionaries with as much Native help as could be mustered; with the coming of Europeans into the area, however, foreign craftsmen were employed, though with the maximum of Native help, voluntary or paid, feasible.[2] The increased use of hired labour, Native or European, meant better construction, but tended to take the spontaneous and voluntary element from the younger Church.

[1] For a description of the Institution, see Ashton to Mullens, 31 March 1876 and 11 November 1878.

[2] For statements concerning European labour, see Price to Mullens, 30 November 1870, Mackenzie to R.Moffat, 1 May 1874, and Mackenzie to Mullens, 25 May 1877. For statements on Native help, see Price to Mullens, 30 November 1870, Wookey to Mullens, 27 September 1875, and 18 May 1876, and Mackenzie to Mullens, 22 June 1877 and 28 July 1881.

D. Agriculture

The agricultural phase of this period assumed two definite categories. First, while some improvements were made at various stations, the major project was at Kuruman in connection with the new Institution. It was planned to increase the farming capacity of the station that most or all of the expense entailed in the Institution would be met, and self-support would follow.[1] One estimate was made that the enlarged project would meet the needs of the entire Kuruman district, comprising a much larger field of work than the station itself.[2] A further part of the project was the enlargement of the concept and curriculum of the Institution by including agricultural instruction,[3] thereby serving the dual ends of spreading the agricultural arts and providing labour in the form of students for the work. In fact, Roger Price, when head of the Institution, strongly pressed for the employment of an agriculturalist to teach improved farming, but he failed to convince the Directors. The project eventually failed, however, like so many before it, because of the comparative immensity of its scope and the limitation of enthusiasm primarily to the missionaries, and lack of funds.[4] An interesting underlying factor was the realization on the part of the missionaries of the financial burden of the Institution and their efforts to make it self-support-

[1]Ashton to Mullens, 11 November 1878, and Mackenzie to Thompson, 13 January 1882.
[2]Good to Thompson, 13 January 1882.
[3]Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 18 January 1879.
[4]Wookey to Whitehouse, 1 January 1884.

ing through agriculture. Whether they questioned the wisdom of having such a large and burdensome educational plant, or whether it was actually necessary in the planting and expansion of an indigenous Christianity is doubtful, though it is obvious from the above statements to the Directors that they felt financially the results.

The second category in the relation to agriculture was its connection with civilization. As has been noted in former periods, agriculture was considered as the base upon which civilization was to be introduced among the Africans. For that reason, primarily, as well as for accompanying results such as self-support, agriculture occupied a place of supreme importance. In the period 1870-1885, the result of this incessant emphasis became evident, as Native civilization was measured primarily by progress in agricultural pursuits.

> "We submit that both Griquas and Bechuanas stand on an entirely different platform as to civilization from that occupied by Kraal Kaffirs, or by Zulus. It is no exaggeration to say, and your officers who have made acquaintance with the country, will bear us out in the assertion, that the population affected by the war in and around Griqualand West have attained a respectable position as to civilization. In their dwellings, in their gardens, and cornlands, in their possessions, in their clothing and personal habits, you have infallible evidence that the people had long left the ranks of heathenism. The fountains of Bechuanaland have already been opened up and led out by the people. The people who were devoting more and more of their time to farming, were constantly harassed by their chiefs who wished them to live together in the town, in the old style. Missionaries advised

> the chiefs to yield to the inevitable, and sanction this farming, or scattered life among their people, with the understanding, that they all come in from their farms once or twice a year. Having to deal with people in this condition, we respectfully submit that they ought to meet with treatment corresponding to their degree of advancement, and not having reference to their colour. Those who have made themselves acquainted with the condition of these people prior to the advent of missionaries among them, and contrast that with their position in 1878, will be encouraged with reference to their capability of improvement. Indded such a glance at the past of the people will encourage a just mind to hold out to them inducements to follow the same peaceful and industrious manner of life which has been characteristic of many of these people."[1]

It is also interesting to note in this letter the dispersed state of the people. In the south, the problem was to get the people into settlements instead of continuing their scattered condition. In the north, the people were already in towns when the missionaries came among them. Farming tended to bring the Griquas together, while it spread the Bechuanas out. Such were the problems of the missionaries in working among two very different types of people.

E. Efforts toward Missionary Recession

Efforts toward self-support in this period, while not progressing greatly, at least were clarified as to policy. The effect of environment, both physical and political, on efforts toward self-support may be taken for granted as not overly conducive, for the disruptive effect of the proximity of the European mining areas at least balanced any material benefits the Natives gained from trade. Concerning Native agency, it is interesting to see separate

[1]Bechuanaland District Committee to Sir Bartle Frere, 25 January 1879.

accounts applying to the whole area--one for evangelists employed by the Society and paid from foreign or British sources, and the other indigenous or paid from local sources for local pastors or teachers. Both, though, were under the direct control of the missionaries. In one of his letters, Ashton explained the financial system while treating a particular bit of business:

> "The sum of £100 under 'Native Agency' I paid to Liphukwe and Khukwe for 1876, and it was wrongly charged to the Native Teachers' Fund supplied by the Churches, whereas these men, as Evangelists sent to the heathen, were to be paid by the Directors, though nothing has as yet been sent for them in the Warrants. The other native teachers who have left the Institution are paid out of the Contributions of the Churches to the Society, and from the rent of Mission property."[1]

While progress was being made toward the goal of having all money for Church work from the local sources rather than from the outside, it was still a noticeable weakness that the Natives themselves had no voice in the handling of sums or their distribution. In its truest sense, self-support must include self-management in the financial as well as in other aspects--a situation which definitely was far from being reached at this time.

One very interesting facet of this type of work took place among the Africans along the shores of Lake Ngami, to whom Native evangelists were sent. Under the direction of Hepburn from Shoshong, who was one of the more interesting and controversial missionaries

[1]Ashton to Mullens, 2 April 1879.

of the period, and perhaps was ahead of his time in some ways, the work took a significant turn and achieved unusual results in a comparatively short time.

> "The Lake Church...has now taken its stand as a self-supporting, self-propagating church. By self-supporting, I mean, of course, providing for its own ministry of the Word, and by self-propagating I also, of course, mean preaching the Word to the other tribes and increasing, not by any inherent power, but by that mighty energy of the Holy Spirit."[1]

Here was a much more spontaneous type of growth and work than was prevalent at the time throughout the rest of the area, and can be compared only to some of the work among the first converts. That such a phenomenom was due to the absence of some element usually found in the approach of the Western Church to missionary work can not be denied, and will be discussed in a later section. Generally, though, it must be said that in things financial, the control was still definitely in the hands of the missionaries, however much efforts were made to have the sources of revenue come from the indigenous Christian groups.

The development of a Native agency, a complementary factor to the goal of self-support, showed interesting elements amidst the change of the social and political environment. The administration of the existing agency remained under the control of the missionaries in their several districts without a growing sense of total unity. As is to be expected, the founding of a special Institution

[1]Hepburn to Thompson, 19 January 1882.

for the training of an African agency was based partly on the opinion of the missionaries that as intensive as possible a training was not only desirable but necessary, and also in part pointed out the shortcomings of the men under training. The early reports of the Institution showed a dissatisfaction with the educational standard attained in village schools and led to the founding of a Boys' School to prepare ministerial candidates for work in the Institution. In this situation, the desire and aim of the missionaries was that all Native agents should receive a formal institutional training before being fully recognized.[1] This hope was not soon to be realized, however, for as late as 1881, only a small number, twenty-one, of the total agents had received this education, the bulk of them being evangelists and not local pastors or teachers.[2] Despite the definition of difference between evangelist and local pastor or teacher through two separate financial accounts, village teachers, pastors, and miscellaneous church leaders still remained in a primarily undefined status. In many cases, all three functions were combined, while in some cases the functions were more clearly defined. Generally, it may be said that a Native local ministry was still in the evolutionary stage.

The most important indication of the times regarding a truly Native agency was in those stages of authority which required a leap of faith on the part of the missionaries--ordination and the

[1]Wookey to Mullens, 11 December 1871, and Mackenzie to Mullens, 25 May 1877.
[2]Mackenzie to Thompson, 21 December 1881.

administration of Sacraments. To this period, no African had been ordained or allowed the function of Sacramental administration. Instead, this final authority had stayed in the hands solely of the missionaries; but without it, the growth of an indigenous Church must remain feeble and incomplete. To the missionaries, the Africans were not yet ready, but the Africans thought themselves ready and were desirous of this final act of faith and confidence. It is not surprising that soon after these frustrated indications appeared, Bantu religious sects of a semi-Christian nature appeared--a definite reaction to almost universal South African hesitation and general African discontent under white rule. In both north and south, cases occurred. At Griqua Town, a request was sent to the Bechuanaland District Committee to ordain the local deacon and permit him to administer the Sacraments.

> "You are aware that Jan has been in charge of the station ever since Mr. Good left it, and that it is he to whom I have given the £10 per annum sent to me from Moffat. You will see from the enclosed note that something like ordination is asked for..though Jan has conducted the ordinary services for several years, I suppose they wish him to administer the Sacrament and to baptise."[1]

> "The first two principal questions before us were, first, their request for a teacher, or that Jan Sepego should be ordained over them. With regard to the first they seemed to be divided. But the general opinion was that they could not support an educated man as their pastor, and that as Jan Sepego had been amongst them so long as deacon, why could he not be

[1]Ashton to Mullens, 29 March 1877.

> their pastor? This I said could not be. Neither does the Committee think that Jan is far enough advanced in education etc. to fill the place of an ordained minister amongst a mixed population; while at the same time we all respect him very much for the way in which he has held on at his post. I afterward suggested to him to come to the Institution for a time."[1]

To the north, the unusual activities of Hepburn were not limited to the successful planting of Christianity at Lake Ngami by Native evangelists. An experiment was made concerning the administration of the Sacraments by Africans which drew the general disapproval of his missionary brethren.

> "Personally I should wish Mr. Hepburn to have the fullest swing in the management of his station; but the administration of ordinances by the Bamangwato Christians, in Mr. Hepburn's presence, and he partaking of the Supper at their hands, places all our Church members in a false position, and especially the native ministers who have been trained in the Institution, not one of whom has yet received the sanction of the District Committee to administer Baptism or the Lord's Supper."[2]

In 1884, a movement was on foot to organize all the Native agents into a general meeting. From the standpoint of Church growth, this was a natural stage in the assumption of all responsibility by the African Christians. However, it came at a time when Bantu sects and separatist groups were emerging, and such a fear was undoubtedly in the minds of the missionaries when they resolved to forbid such meetings, trying instead to keep authority more tightly in their control for the time being, rather than take a chance on the eventual

[1] Wookey to Mullens, 28 August 1877.
[2] Mackenzie to Thompson, 22 June 1881.

outcome of the Native movement.

> "In answer to an application from the Native Evangelists, for permission to meet together for consideration and discussion respecting their position and work, Resolved: That the Committee see no necessity at present for any such general meeting as that contemplated.
>
> That should the Native Evangelists, either in their individual or collective capacity, have any matter of importance to lay before the District Committee, at its next meeting, they be requested to communicate the same to the Local Secretary, through the missionaries of their districts.
>
> That any Native Evangelist wishing tolleave his station for more than a week, for any other than strictly evangelistic work purposes, consult with the missionary of his district."[1]

One effort was made, however, in allowing the privilege of performing marriages to Christian workers outside the scope of the missionary circle.

> "Resolved: That all students who have passed through the regular course of study in the Moffat Institution, be empowered to celebrate marriages, as evangelists connected with the London Missionary Society."[2]

This definitely was a time of change, and many of the problems of self-determination began in such conditions, fostered too often by a lack of understanding or fear on the part of the missionaries.

F. The Progress of Civilization

In past periods, it has been noted that the missionaries consistently tried to introduce civilization into their sphere of operations. In some cases, this civilization was of the universal type defined in the Introduction, and in others it was of the

[1]Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 3 April 1884.
[2]Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 3 June 1881.

Western variety backed by the Western concept of Christianity of which the missionaries were products. In surveying the work of the missionaries in establishing civilization, Sir Bartle Frere wrote to the Directors:

> "...the labours of your missionaries have effectually changed the conditions of savage life, which existed here half a century ago. The people have become settled, they have been raised in civilization and intelligence, as a consequence of the religious teaching of your missionaries. They are, many of them, more than half civilized, they have the feelings and aspirations of civilized Christian men."[1]

More specific indications of civilization, especially outward signs, may be seen in the letters of the missionaries. Aside from miscellaneous references to changes in dress and other items,[2] and the missionary introduction of British customs such as cricket,[3] more basic changes were described in a letter from Good to Mullens:

> "The outward indications of it (progress) are seen on every hand; even the traders themselves have often expressed their surprise to me at the immense quantity of clothing purchased by the Natives, and the beads and trinkets of half a dozen years ago find a very slow market, and are only patronised by that class which may very properly be called intensely heathen. Ploughs, again, ought to be taken as a mark of civilisation and advancement amongst them, seeing that they have been the means of delivering the women from that intolerable drudgery to which the treadmill would be a treat. The digging of immense gardens with a broadbladed pick, at a time of the year when the rains have not fallen and consequently the heat is, even to them, most distressing and these implements I am glad to say may now be found in almost every family."[4]

[1] Sir Bartle Frere to Foreign Secretary, 13 June 1879.
[2] Wookey to Mullens, 11 December 1871.
[3] Brown to Whitehouse, 6 January 1880.
[4] Good to Mullens, 28 April 1876.

This particular change was of importance because of its effect on Native life. It affected the distribution of customary labour between the sexes; men, as caring for the cattle, became responsible for the cattle-drawn plough and thus were drawn into a share of agricultural work which had not been usual in the past.[1] Of course, the material benefits from the more efficient method were obvious.

The fact that the missionaries looked upon their efforts at civilization as a unity may be observed in the fact that Good included Sabbath observance as a part of progress along with the introduction of the plough. While perhaps laying too much stress on Western morality and the nicities of 19th century British civilization, such as overly adequate clothing, nevertheless, they did work to introduce the basic universal foundations of civilization such as better food, shelter, clothing, a stable economy, and education. While earnestly striving to avoid official connections with Government and political participation, which was to a considerable extent accomplished considering the circumstances, still the underlying presupposition that British Government was a benevolent gift to lesser developed peoples and a belief in a sort of manifest destiny, along with the fact that the Government and the missionaries had the same national source, put the missionaries into the position of rising or falling with British national for-

[1]For the development of this effect, see such articles as Baumann, H., "The Division of Work according to Sex in African Hoe Culture", in Africa I (1928), pp. 289-319.

tune, and laid them open to the difficulties of today in regard to nationalist reactions. The success of avoiding political ties and activities was put in a flattering, perhaps overdrawn way by Sir Bartle Frere in his letter to the Directors.[1] It would seem from this distance that Sir Bartle was overly optimistic about the lack of responsibility in missionaries to replace or partially preserve tribal ways of life unwoven by the demands of their particular type of Christianity, as they were partially responsible along with the general European population. Also, from past records, the missionaries had, consciously or otherwise, tended to "Transform them into sable imitations of white men" through social customs, clothing, architecture, etc. along with not allowing them sufficient ecclesiastical initiative. In the light of modern anthropological study, many of their condemnations of Native practices such as dancing and other economic and social sanctions were unstable, as certainly were the effects on the tribal political cohesion. Finally, the bond of sympathy with British Government reflected the time by its assumption of the good to those conquered or placed under protection, in Africa and elsewhere, of British rule and the consequent concept of "The white man's burden", benevolent as it may have been in its way. In all fairness, however, the Africans under consideration in this study came under British protection by their

1 Sir Bartle Frere to Foreign Secretary of London Missionary Society, 13 June 1879. For a copy of this letter, see appendix.

own free will, at their own request for the most, and largely at the advice of the missionaries. On the other hand, the pressing circumstances can not account for all the missionary enthusiasm, but national pride must account for some. The African desire for retention of his hereditary lands, partially upheld and partially undermined by the desire for British rule on the part of the missionaries, unfortunately placed the missionaries in the eyes of some of the Africans as siding with Government against a segment of the Native population. This view of good will toward the home Government, or an extension of it as the case might be, in many ways is the symbolic representation of the opinion that most of what is British, or Western as the case might apply, is good and should be introduced with Christianity, regardless of the opinion and desire of the African, for that is in essence what made the missionary a transmitter, consciously or otherwise, of Western civilization, a product of his time and background. The best illustration of this feeling is found in a letter written by Hepburn.[1] Civilization, then, was to go hand in hand with Government, commerce, and Christianity to change the existing system and make Africa better under British rule--a new way of life, not expressly British or Western, but certainly embodying all the main features of it, regardless of what its name might officially be.

[1]Hepburn to Whitehouse, 7 June 1880. For a copy of this very interesting letter, see appendix.

G. Conclusions

In approaching the general trends and conclusions of this period, the events of the background must be remembered, for they in turn laid the groundwork for the type of society which was to persist until the end of the century. The discovery of diamonds had added to the Boer-Briton friction which was an extension in turn of the conflict farther to the south which had eventually resulted in the Great Trek. With the intensification of this struggle, friction in the area under consideration had become largely that of British-Boer, rather than Boer-Native, with the British taking the part of the Africans in most respects, regardless of some internal maladjustments concerning the land, etc. In a wider political sphere, the area was not just the northern frontier of the Cape Colony, or the western boundary of the Boer territories--it was the key to the interior, and the British had to have it in order to compete in the international rush for central Africa. In this period, certain aspects of missionary life and labour were strongly touched by the changing conditions, while other aspects seemed not to be particularly sensitite to outside influences. Quite naturally, the missionaries drew nearer to Government as it moved into the area, partly because of a desire for peace and protection in the light of the Boers and tribal disturbances, and partly because of the predisposition of the missionaries toward their home

Government. That they were products of their time and that their own sympathies were with their native land can not be denied. The question, however, is the extent to which they were these things. Undoubtedly their first consideration was the welfare of the people among whom they laboured, and secondarily that of their own land. This fact is brought out in the many criticisms leveled at Government over the maltreatment and injustice, whenever such occurred, either directly attributable to Government or to its inactivity. This divided loyalty never reached a decision between the two, for the missionaries generally resolved the possibility by the assumption that basically the British system was best for the African in the long run. On the other hand, the loyalty to the home country must not be overlooked, for the missionaries sided in the south with Government against that element of the Native population which revolted against rule by the white man. In the north, the efforts to preserve tribal rule as much as possible did much to avoid repetitions of occurrences in the south. Again, the problem never really came into clear focus, for the Native Christians generally took the position of Government out of loyalty to their missionaries and because of the conditioning of mind resulting from missionary teaching. Ultimately, in their minds, the problem remained one of British and Christian versus heathen, not British versus African. The beginnings of independence in the Native Church already noted in this chapter belong more properly to the problem

of maintaining control over the Christian movement until the Africans were "ready" to take control, and not so much to the British versus Native conflict of loyalty in the minds of the missionaries. Also, much of the choice of the time was between British and Boer--a question regarding no hard decision for the missionaries who had had their problems with the Boers for many years. With these factors in mind, it is not difficult to see the naturalness of loyalty to Britain while at the same time remaining loyal to the Natives and their interests. Already they were beginning to be looked upon as white men's agents by some of the African population, though not to the same extent as at the present day in other parts. This predisposition, however, carried on into later years and later problems and movements would and did cause a heightening of suspicion and conflict, and is responsible today for much of the criticism that missionaries are essentially carriers and transmitters of Western civilization and domination, either consciously or otherwise.

Another field sensitive to social changes was education. The chief features noticeable in this period were the slowly enlarging curriculum, the greater desire for instruction in English on the part of the Native population, the increasing English flavour of the schools, including methods of teaching, sports, school uniforms in at least one place, and other minor indications, and the

eventual dependence on the function of preparing the Native children for life in the new social environment for the success of the school programme. On this final point, it was noted earlier that the missionaries confessed that the chief drawing point of their education was its instruction in English and other general ways of preparation for life in the Europeanized community. This side of education, which had been growing over the years, and which sprang from the desire to save the Natives from land displacement, tribal destruction, and individual loss of freedom and social status, apart from the equally strong feeling that civilized people are better Christians, if indeed they could be Christian without having attained a relatively high level of civilization, had at this time become the redeeming feature in the educational system and largely the excuse for its existence. The religious emphasis of course remained, but its importance seemed to be waning as the importance of teaching English grew, at least in the mind of the African. Here was a dangerous potentiality, as present day experience has shown. The mission school which produces primarily a subordinate professional class without necessarily producing Christians has lost its vital nerve and is performing a secondary task. The situation at this particular period, while responding to the needs of the time by including those elements which would help the people to adjust to the new situation, nevertheless was the root of many a later problem when allowed to be carried to

an extreme. Other mission societies had their comparable periods when these developments took place, but it is unfortunate that such a side should develop out of a good motive and need. Underlying this movement, however, was the desire to help the Native adjust to the situation in order to save himself from personal and group destruction, along with the assumption on the part of the missionaries that Western civilization was desirable for him.

The effect on architecture is not quite so clear as in the attitude toward Government and education. First, many of the buildings needed for mission work had already been constructed, and those to be built were relatively few at this time, political conditions aside. It may be noted, however, that in the south, where conditions were still far from stable, there was a hesitancy to build on a permanent basis. This fact may also be in part attributable to the decreased Native population in that area. More work was done in the north, where instability had not yet become a major factor. The latest Western methods and materials were being used in mission building, due no doubt to the proximity of European workers and the greatly eased availability of materials through improved transportation facilities. This increased Westernization of building practices, when compared with the earlier days, does not necessarily indicate that construction work had become more Western. In all probability, the earlier missionaries would have done the same if such facilities had been available in their

isolated work. Desire and ability are not synonymous. This period also witnessed the root source of institutional building, which accompanied the view toward education. Again, the factor of ease was predominant. More important to later problems was the difficulty of maintaining such a physical investment, especially if the work were ever to be handed over to the Africans to use and support. Finally, this professional approach to construction tended to take initiative and personal donation of labour and funds out of the hands of the people themselves. Architecture, while not showing particularly any strong trend toward Western civilization, nevertheless did take on more of the Western flavour, in underlying factors, forms, and methods--all more or less unconsciously.

The importance of agriculture in this period regarding its connection with external changes and Western civilization was in its actual effect on the people. Perhaps more clearly than at any previous time, the basic change brought about in the civilization of the Africans through agriculture was shown. In defending the Natives from unjust criticism, the missionaries pointed to their civilized state, largely in terms of agriculture, and pleaded for the preservation of Native lands and possessions. Again, while many of the civilized advancements of the Africans were in basic things common to all civilization, nevertheless, these aspects were described as inherent in the level of civilization attained by and spread through the British, or in more general terms, Western

way of life. Even from the earliest days, agriculture held a key place in the development of civilization and the general uplift of the people, physically and spiritually, and it continued to do so during this period with a clearer definition of its importance.

Since by definition, the nature of the indigenous Church being formed through the work of the missionaries forms an integral part of this study, it is important to see the progress of missionary recession as it appeared in this period. Self-support, while being encouraged constantly by the missionaries, still remained solidly under the control of them, and no appreciable effort seemed to be made to turn this function over to the Africans themselves. Consequently, it is not unusual that achievement lagged far behind the goals set, for self-management in financial as well as in other aspects, is part of genuine self-support. The Lake Ngami mission was a notable exception to the general rule, and a few isolated instances show that self-support had been partially achieved, but almost universally the problem had not been solved. The use of local funds for local expenses was good, and the division of bookkeeping into "Evangelist" and "Pastor" was good in differentiating functions. Likewise, the efforts toward setting a standard and adequate salary for Native agents were proper and just, but to this period the basic question of the propriety of handling large sums and paying the agents from foreign funds had not really been seriously raised. Some critics of mission

policy have stated that there is no necessity in having funds at all, and that Native pastors should be paid by the people according to their means, and not be paid agents of foreign missionaries. This whole question, discussed at greater length in a later section, seems not to have been raised, and the Native agents continued to be paid agents of foreigners and under the direct control of the missionaries, not directly chosen and paid by the people, and as such responsible to their parishes. From the point of Westernization, also, the young Church was growing along the same lines ecclesiastically as its parent, and its character as a Western institution was made twofold by the control exercised by the missionaries.[1]

Two other elements, closely linked together, reflect on the conditions of the time. First, advanced formal education was held necessary before Native ministers were considered as fully fit for the task of ordained work. Consequently, to this period, and indeed until the end of the century, there were no ordained Native ministers in this mission. This idea was undoubtedly a reflection of Church life in the West and a desire on the part of the missionaries to produce the type of ministry which could render adequate pastoral service resting upon, not only spiritual conviction and emotional fervor, but also a reasoned understanding of the faith

[1]Dr. Norman Goodall, in his A History of the L.M.S., 1895-1945, p. 282, claims the churches "were all of a Congregational order."

and its demands. Though thought at this time was probably clarified into so many words, this kind of thought was in their minds and made the delay of an emergent African ministry continue until the end of the century.

One of the problems of the African religious scene is the multiplicity of Christian or semi-Christian sects, arising in large part from a revolt against European domination in the political, social, and religious aspects of life.[1] As early as this period, the missionaries were facing indications of dissatisfaction among their own African workers, and made few constructive moves. Missionary attitudes may be seen in the disapproval of administration of the Lord's Supper by Africans at Hepburn's station, the refusal of ordination to a worker in Griqualand West, and closer supervision after the request for meetings of agents. These are, of course, but incomplete indications, but taken together they do show that it was still a basically foreign mission instead of an independent indigenous Church, and as such remained a Western product.

Civilization, running through all the aspects of work and thought, was of prime importance in this as in other periods. The general achievements and failures of the missionaries have already been discussed in the section on civilization, though it is neces-

[1]An interesting and comprehensive survey of this movement may be found in Sundkler, B.G.M., Bantu Prophets in South Africa, London: Lutterworth Press, 1948.

sary to mention the general trends of this field. The financial aspects of civilization were largely in agriculture as the basis of the economy, but increasingly employment in the mining operations came to be of significance, with some misgivings on the part of the missionaries as to overriding evil effects. Generally speaking, though, they saw the future of the African bound up in the European community, as indeed it has come to be in a very great extent. Faced with the necessity of adjusting themselves and their work to this situation, the missionaries tried hard to help their people fit into this new arrangement. In the past, the missionaries had tried to introduce civilization of a somewhat undefined nature, but without doubt the form of that civilization, upon the appearance of a European community, was more sharply defined as Western in nature. Indeed, it would have been difficult to do otherwise. Conditions, besides forcing such an adjustment, made the process easier and more natural with the proximity of European civilization as an example--a situation unknown to the earlier missionaries in their isolated locality. More and more, the position of the African depended on his state of Western civilization, and in this effort the missionaries played a conspicuous part, along with the general influence of the European community.

Chapter VII. 1885-1900

A. Background

Having carried the mission field up to annexation or protectorateship, it remains now only to note the changes which occurred under British administration from 1885 to the eve of the Boer War. By way of partial review, it was noted that because of mineral discoveries, the area of Griqualand West became part of the Cape Colony in 1871. In 1885, because of internal confusion and conflict with the Boers over border infractions, the area between Griqualand and the Molopo River was also annexed to the Cape Colony under the name of British Bechuanaland, and the land between the Molopo River and the twenty-second parallel south declared a British Protectorate. Later, in 1890 in the race for what later became Southern Rhodesia, a treaty with the Germans concerning the dividing line between German South-West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate extended the area under protection to the Zambezi River, allowing the Germans an access to the Zambezi River through the Caprivi Strip.

By far the most important political element of the time was the scramble for the control and riches of Matebeleland and its satellite Mashonaland. This in turn was but a stage in the plan of men like Cecil Rhodes for a wide strip of land spanning the continent of Africa from Cape Town to Cairo. To some, the area meant riches, and to others a home. To all, however, the unclaimed part

of Bechuanaland was the key to further expansion, and the growing pressure of the Boers and Portuguese on the east and the Germans on the west only heightened the urgency and necessity for placing the area under British administration, for without it, a British claim to Rhodesia would have been impossible.

Under a closer surveyance, these political events had considerable effect on mission work and attitude, especially the attitude toward British Government and ways, and the attitude toward political participation. As has been noticed in past periods, there had been a trend away from the opinion held in the days of Sir Benjamin D'Urban and others that annexation of further territory, especially the areas in which the missionaries were at work, was not good, to the time of Boer and later British emigration and the forced desire for annexation and Government to bring peace and safety once again. These aims in reality were not inconsistent, for the protection and well-being of the Natives, from the standpoint of the missionaries, was the primary motive through the years.

The period 1885-1900 had several political problems, chief among which were the conflict between the gold diggers and Native jurisdiction and land tenure, the attitude toward the chartered companies and the choice between the chartered companies and Royal Protection, anarchy in the absence of stable Government, more prevalent in the south than in the north, and the desire for British rule in preference to Boer domination, the general movement toward

Matebeleland and Mashonaland and its effect on Bechuanaland, and finally the beginning of the Boer War. With these disturbances in mind, the continued opinion on the part of the missionaries that the welfare of the area depended on firm Government to preserve peace, promote civilization, and bring order out of chaotic anarchy is completely understandable.

The problem of diggers, originally to the more southern regions, eventually spread north of the Molopo River as gold was found in the Tati area and prospected for in many other places. Unlike the south, however, Chiefs were stronger and the African population was more numerous and better organized. Nevertheless, friction arose, and the problem of the Chiefs' juriddiction over the bands of miners became a serious consideration, as well as the danger of a repetition of earlier events in the south concerning land displacement. It is not surprising that the missionaries not only were afraid of a large mining contingent, but even hoped that gold would not be found in their areas.

> "We hear too that gold has been discovered in Bechuanaland South, and I shall not be surprised if it should prove to be true. But I do hope that no one may find gold here, except in coin."[1]

Once the gold seekers came, the problem of keeping the land in the hands of the Natives and away from the unscrupulous land-jobbers taxed the efforts of the missionaries.

[1]Lloyd to Thompson, 18 November 1886.

> "Gold seekers are coming this way, and one man, Mr. D. Hume, has a concession from Sechele, with power to mark off twenty miles square of country eventually, should he find gold. Every man who comes, wants a whole territory for himself and seems greatly aggrieved if he does not get it."[1]

The problem of a Chief's juriddiction over the miners without the aid and support of a European Government also caused trouble.

> "A large party of white men connected with the South African Exploration Company went through here at the same time as the Administrator. They are going to Khama's country to prospect for gold. The chiefs give their country over to such people little thinking that annexation must soon follow, or come at once. No black chief can manage to rule white men in any numbers."[2]

Under these conditions, it was to be expected that the desire for strong British control should continue to be felt.

> "The people who are at the bottom of all these troubles are the gold concessionists, and concession seekers, who are making cats paws of the Bechuana chiefs to gain their own ends, not in one place only, but all through the country. I see nothing for it now, but annexation before further trouble comes."[3]

As has been pointed out, the influx of miners and land-jobbers, first limited to the more southern areas, and then into the area north of the Molopo River, did not stop with Griqualand West, British Bechuanaland, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, but moved to the northeast into what was to be Southern Rhodesia. Not only was

[1] Wookey to Thompson, 23 December 1887. See also Lloyd to Thompson, 11 July 1888 and 28 September 1888, Hepburn to Thompson, 7 August 1885, and Wookey to Thompsen, 4 August 1888 and 4 August 1890.
[2] Wookey to Thompson, 18 August 1888. Under these conditions, Khama ceded the territory to Britain as he could not hope effectively to control the European miners.
[3] Wookey to Thompson, 15 November 1888.

there the problem of mining concessions and their effects on Native life and mission work, but also the international political pressures involved in the acquisition of Matebeleland and Mashonaland with an eye to the whole of central Africa. A strong British element, whose outstanding figure was Cecil Rhodes, wanted the belt of land from Cape Town to Cairo as British territory. Consequently, the unclaimed portion of Bechuanaland became an international focus, with very disturbing results, noted in many of the missionary reports.

> "Already it is reported that the Marico Boers are on the move northwards. It is the same Boers who have given all the trouble in Bechuanaland. It may serve the present Cape ministry to ignore the fact, that a few months ago, and when the home government had not yet put out its hand, Colonial interests were at stake, and the paramount power and influence appeared to be falling into the hands of the Transvaal Boers; but if it serve the present Cape ministers to forget it, it will not serve the Colony, and it will not serve England to forget it. The Germans are awake. They are steadfast in their action, and they hold a steady purpose. One party follows soon after another in examining and enquiring into everything here."[1]

Missionary anxiety for the peace of the area and the welfare of the Africans, in addition to the realization that in the interests of the British Government action had to be taken immediately, was also prominent in their letters.

> "We feel anxious as to the future of this country; the Boers are as restless as ever, or more so. Some Boers, are crossing the Crocodile River on, or near the dis-

[1] Hepburn to Thompson, 7 August 1885. See also Wookey to Thompson, 17 May 1886, Lloyd to Thompson, 18 November 1886 and 1 June 1885, and Mackenzie to Thompson, 2 June 1885.

> puted territory between the Shasha and Motloutse Rivers. It is understood that the Chief Khame is to be sacrificed in furtherance of this villainous land-grabbing scheme. These anticipated troubles are all in addition to those arising from the attempts of some Englishmen to seize by force or fraud a part of Khame's country which is known to have gold. Altogether the country is very unsettled."[1]

Concerning the future Government of the Bechuanaland territory, three distinct possibilities were present--annexation by the Cape Colony, the establishment of a Protectorate directly under the control of the Government in London, and the commercial supervision of a Chartered Company--and the ultimate victory of one was hammered out during this period. On each of these three possibilities the missionaries had their opinions which they expressed from time to time, with the background and their reasons visible either openly or between the lines. Regarding the possible control of Bechuanaland by a Chartered Company, the missionaries were all antagonistic, feeling that men like Rhodes were too closely linked with and currying the favour of the Boers, whom the missionaries distrusted intensely.

> "Before this reaches you I hope that the three paramount chiefs of the British Protectorate may be fairly started on the way to England. They are going for the ppurpose of appealing in person to Her Majesty against the annexation of their country by the Chartered Company of South Africa. How far they may be successful in resisting such a shameful policy on the part of the late Governor I cannot say, but I do hope that even if the appeal to the Queen is useless they

[1] Lloyd to Thompson, 11 July 1888. See also Lloyd to Thompson, 28 September 1888. Time proved that there was little justification for this fear, real as it may have been in their minds at the time.

> may be able to stir up some public sympathy on their behalf."[1]
>
> "Khama is anxious, and very distrustful of the High Commissioner whom he rightly regards as a mere puppet in the hands of Rhodes."[2]

The L.M.S. agents were equally adament in their dissatisfaction toward the possible rule of Bechuanaland by the Cape Colony Government. They felt that Cape officials were not trustworthy and that the Boer influence at Cape Town, whether real or imaginary, would mean disaster. On the other hand, rule from London would be free from local shortcomings and ensure just Government. Especially did men like Mackenzie, who was the real founder of the Protectorate, air their opinions strongly and work toward their goal of placing Bechuanaland north of the Molopo River under British protection.[3]

Opposition to control by the Cape Colony Government may be seen in the following examples:

> "Annexation to the Cape Colony just now would be clearly disadvantageous. Besides, would it not be well to have some unoccupied land in the hands of the English people, and not in the hands of a Colonial Government?"[4]
>
> "Though I hope that something will be done now, the fact that British Bechuanaland is likely soon to become a part of the Cape Colony, and that we shall soon be subject to the legislation of the Cape Parliament does not make the future seem very hopeful."[5]

[1] Williams to Thompson, 7 August 1895.
[2] Willoughby to Thompson, 31 December 1894. For further information see Wookey to Thompson, 2 July 1889, Williams to Thompson, 20 January 1890, and Hepburn to Thompson, 16 December 1889.
[3] For the strong disapproval of Mackenzie toward Cape Rule, see his Austral Africa for his opinion in lengthy detail.
[4] Mackenzie to Thompson, 2 June 1885.
[5] J. Brown to Thompson, 10 August 1888--also 30 October 1888.

Accompanying the negative attitudes toward the Chartered Companies and Cape Colony respectively, was the more positive leaning toward the establishment of a Protectorate.

> "We would here express our satisfaction with the steps which have been taken towards the bringing of the country under British Protection, and are very glad that that Protection is likely to be extended over the whole of Bechuanaland."[1]

As in former times, the British occupation of the land and the establishment of Government did not always go smoothly, and the missionaries were not slow to complain of injustices suffered by their people. While noting these dissatisfactions on the one hand, it must not be forgotten that the missionaries were placed in a situation which was far from desirable; however loud their protests might have been, basically they were not only in favour of a Protectorate but worked in their own way for its establishment. A large part of the dissatisfaction, as in earlier times, concerned the lack of action and protection afforded by the British Government to loyal Chiefs.

> "The Bamangwato, with their Chief Khame, have sought the help of the British Government more than once. But the necessary help has not been rendered, neither is there any evidence, at present, that it will be in our people's time of need."[2]

[1] Price, Wookey, Hepburn, and Ashton to Thompson, 28 March 1885. See also Wookey to Thompson, 3 March 1885, Lloyd to Thompson, 1 June 1885, Hepburn to Thompson, 7 August 1885, and Williams to Thompson, 13 May 1889 and 28 March 1895.

[2] Lloyd to Thompson, 11 July 1888. See also Wookey to Thompson, 22 July 1885 and Brown to Thompson, 9 October 1885.

Other complaints were centred around an inefficient party policy in England which made smooth and efficient action in Bechuanaland impossible.

> "The fickleness of the Home Government in connexion with South African affairs, has been such for many years past that one is almost prepared for anything."[1]

The fear of the effect of Protection and the presence of Government Police forces provided still another complaint and hesitancy on the part of the missionaries.

> "I have already referred to the coming of Colonel Sir Frederick Carrington into Khame's country with some 250 Mounted Police. The coming of so many white men into this country must make in many ways a great difference to us all here. If annexation needs come, God grant that it may come peacefully."[2]

Underlying the protestations just noted was a basic desire for British rule in the form of a Protectorate, not only from the motives of peace and civilization which had been present for many years, but also by what might be called a growing sense of benevolent Imperialism, almost completely absent from the large majority of the earlier missionaries. This fact, taken with other indications, shows the somewhat changed nature of the new school of missionaries in the area. In speaking of the opening up of the area that came to be called Southern Rhodesia, Hepburn showed this thought in the clearest example of the time:

[1]Price to Thompson, 3 May 1886. See also Hepburn to Thompson, 7 August 1885.
[2]Lloyd to Thompson, 27 May 1889.

> "The piece of country which lies between the north side of the Limpopo River and the south side of the Zambezi is the richest and most valuable piece of country lying between Cape Town and the Zambezi. There is not another piece of country to compare with it, whether for its mineral wealth...whether for the richness of its soil...whether for its abundance of water. What a home for many thousands. Why should England not possess and administer it? We on the spot see nothing to hinder it here. Is it too late yet? I fear it is, but if it is not, the time is short, and if anything is to be done, it will need to be done swiftly and at once."[1]

In backing up their desire for a Protectorate, the missionaries continued to be drawn into political participation, both for the welfare and peace of their people and the more general political achievement of bringing in British Government. One interesting political effort, not connected directly with Government, was the effort by the northernmost missionaries to bring about peace between Khama and Lobenguàa, a move which would not only bring about tranquility, but in a wider context pave the way for British occupation of Matebeleland and Mashonaland. The peaceful state of Khama's country would be of tremendous importance among the tribes farther into the interior, as they were interested in the results of British administration, and also would give the British an open door to the desired area, as Khama was the key to the land beyond.

> "In sending you the enclosed I had hoped to send you the good news that a permanent boundary line had been agreed upon by Lobengula and Khame, and to tell you what the near future is possibly likely to be, but I am still not able to do it as I could wish. Things

[1]Hepburn to Thompson, 7 August 1885. See also Wookey to Thompson, 7 September 1885, Brown to Thompson, 23 March 1886, and Hepburn to Thompson, 13 June 1890.

> are changing so rapidly with us, that I wish not to speak until I see what the final attitude of Lobengula is in the communications that are passing between the two chiefs through the medium of Mr. Helm and myself as their missionaries and advisors."[1]

An important role of the missionaries was that of acting as intermediary between the Chiefs and Government, willingly or otherwise.

> "There is no one in the country here to represent the Government to the chiefs, or the chiefs to the Government. We as missionaries seem to be expected to do it. I do not like the work, and feel that the less we have to do with it the better."[2]

A very significant statement by Price, concerning the past political endeavours of the missionaries and their predisposition toward prospective British administration of the area, was made after an unfavourable ruling by the Land Court concerning the mission property rights at Kuruman. In comparing the past activities of the missionaries against the lack of contribution made by other claimants, he said:

> "What service have the great majority of them ever rendered to the Batlaping or to anybody else for the matter of that. If the London Missionary Society had not been in occupation of Kuruman in 1858, when Sir George Grey, on the strength of that fact, warned the Boers of the Transvaal against interfering with it, can there be any manner of doubt that those men would have carried out their intention of making a dorp here at that time? And yet forsooth, at this date, after all the Society has done in and for the country bringing about, I make bold to say, the annexation of

[1] Hepburn to Thompson, 13 June 1888. See also J.S. Moffat to Thompson, 30 March 1888.

[2] Wookey to Thompson, 4 August 1888. For further indications of forced political participation, see Wookey to Thompson, 15 November 1888. Eager participation is noted in Lloyd to Thompson, 1 June 1885.

> the country to the British Crown, and thus saving the whole of it from being overrun and occupied by freebooters, after all this the Society is awarded this comparatively small piece of the valley."[1]

As the Boer War loomed on the horizon, further problems faced the missionaries in the new century to come. As in the past, they faced the future with the paramount concern being the welfare of their people. Despite some imperialist extremes among the missionary ranks, the rank and file held their opinions and carried through their actions regarding British rule with this concern in mind, little dreaming that they, with many other missionaries around the world, were forming problems that are still mostly unsolved by their present-day successors.

> "We are expecting to hear every day that war has commenced with the Transvaal. War will upset the whole country; but there is great need that the matters in question between the Boers and Uitlanders will be finally and authoritatively settled on a sound and liberal basis for both alike; and that in the final event the position of the native tribes be made better than it is at present."[2]

B. Education

In the field of education, many changes were made and much examination of methods, motives, and goals both past and present took place as they saw failures and inadequacies coming more clearly into focus. The connection between education and Christianity remained as before, but with certain alterations. However, education was still used as a means of conversion, for the long

[1]Price to Thompson, 12 July 1886.
[2]Wookey to Thompson, 19 September 1899.

period of direct contact with and supervision under the missionaries afforded an excellent opportunity for spiritual development. The rule concerning the ability to read the Scriptures continued in many stations, though in some it lapsed, and in others it followed with a variation. The application of the rule may be seen in the following example:

> "In the case of new members I have made a rule that Catechumens must be able to read the New Testament before we can receive them into fellowship, unless they are old or otherwise incapacitated from learning. This rule is in force, I believe, on some of our southern stations, and it is salutary."[1]

A further extension of this rule may be seen in a statement by Williams:

> "I don't think we should be justified in retaining members who refused to educate their children. If we do retain them, the church would ultimately suffer on point of members, for we do not admit any to church fellowship who cannot read their own character."[2]

One interesting effect, resulting probably largely from the lack of suitable reading material besides the Bible and largely from the great emphasis put on the ability to read the Bible by missionaries, was the tendency on the part of the African to consider the only reading material desirable or necessary to be the Bible and Hymn Book. For this unfortunate circumstance, the missionaries can not be blamed in stressing the ability to read the Bible as necessary to Christian growth. Instead, it must be remembered also

[1]Willoughby to Cousins, 23 September 1898.
[2]Williams to Thompson, 6 December 1892.

that efforts were made to provide extra-Biblical reading matter, some religious and some in a more secular vein. The fault must lie in the inability of the missionaries to carry through a consistent, strong programme along this line to a successful conclusion. Such factors as personality differences, trial and error methods, and general lack of insight contributed at that time to the situation. Other similar failures, due also to this human factor, are seen in subsequent sections.

> "It is very difficult, however, to convince the native mind of a need of reading outside the Bible and Hymn Book. When they are possessors of these two books, in their opinion, their library is complete."[1]

The connection between education and civilization also continued, with certain modifications. The civilizing function of education at this time seems to have been taken for granted in the general raising of African life, especially along the line of preparing the Natives for life in a Europeanized environment. For all practical purposes, the two goals may be considered as synonymous. In the minds of the missionaries, the time had arrived when the future of the Africans was being gravely challenged, their ability to adjust to the new situations was deciding their future tribal and personal survival, and the answer lay in education, especially in those lines of education defined and considered important by the

[1]Gould to Thompson, 7 August 1885.

white population. It is important to note, as will be shown in a subsequent section, that the curriculum of the station schools consisted at this time of what would be considered "secular" courses as differentiated from purely religious instruction, and was even designated as such by the missionaries. From this situation, then, a strong case for assuming that the missionaries meant that the "secular" instruction of their schools would save the Africans from loss of identity by preparing them for life in a European community based on European pre-requisites.

> "I believe that the new school might be made exceedingly useful to the Bechuanas. Indeed, I do not see how it is possible that they should long continue their tribal existence unless we take them seriously in hand, and educate them."[1]

Along this same line, J.S. Moffat, a former missionary who entered the field of politics, says the same thing, reflecting his past experiences and attitudes as a missionary.

> "It seems to me that the preaching of the Gospel in a broad sense includes their higher education, even if it be not directly applied in all cases to preparation of a ministry, or even of school masters. These people will have to fight for their own lands some of these days, perhaps very soon; with the gold fever on in Southern Africa and reaching to the Zambezi; and if we don't give them something more in education than we have done, we don't give them a fair chance."[2]

Other indications of this general trend may be seen in the growing similarity between the mission schools on the main stations and the average British school, due in part probably to the newer

[1] Willoughby to Thompson, 21 April 1896.
[2] J.S. Moffat to Thompson, 21 March 1888. See also Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 4 May 1897.

ideas of the missionaries, partly to natural educational evolution, and partly to the pressures of the environment.

> "The school is carried on in the same way as an English school, as near as possible."[1]

The teaching medium employed at this time also pointed to the general trend. During this period, the pupils at the Institution came to be taught more and more in English rather than in their native tongue, and were encouraged to speak English in all their social contacts.[2] At the larger stations also, the same emphasis arose.[3] These factors, then, when taken together, show the trend of the times in the changing function of education, especially when contrasted with the earlier purpose of religious instruction. While the latter was not abandoned, the rise of the former did take a large proportion of time and attention. At about this point, the changed emphasis was becoming clearly defined--an alteration which was later to pose the serious problem of how to make the mission educational system worth the great drain of time and money, when its primary achievement was merely the production of a class of African educated for the professions and Civil Service, without necessarily having a Christian development. As

[1] Miss Young to Thompson, 23 April 1896. Miss Young was one of the English ladies employed for a time in some of the larger stations as school mistresses.

[2] J.T.Brown to Thompson, 15 February 1893 and 29 June 1896, Willoughby to Thompson, 21 April 1896, Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 4 May 1897.

[3] Williams to Thompson, 20 May 1887 and 29 October 1894, Willoughby to Thompson, 19 November 1894, Miss Young to Thompson, 23 April 1896.

early as this period, such a problem had arisen in several forms. John Moffat, speaking in the late 1880's, bemoaned the inability of the mission schools even to produce men qualified to act as Government employees and translators.

> "When I was leaving Taung there was a great enquiry in Government circles for interpreters. I was beset by other officials to find interpreters for them, it being supposed that I might know of such, but I was obliged to confess that I could not lay hands upon a single one suitable for government purposes; and yet thousands of pounds have been spent in Bechuanaland by the London Missionary Society during the last ten years for educational purposes."[1]

Four years later, the lack of occupational outlet for educated Africans was noted by the Bechuanaland District Committee:

> "There is not an ex pupil of the school engaged in the work of teaching, or indeed in any work in which the education received in the school is of any special advantage, most of the boys having simply returned to the usual avocations of their countrymen--cattle herding, wagon driving, etc."[2]

This lack of use and even misuse of mission education was again referred to in the minutes of the Bechuanaland District Committee toward the end of the period, showing that the problem had not been effectively solved at that time.

> "Resolved: That whereas the Local Fund has become altogether inadequate to the due maintenance of the Evangelists at present in the employ of the Committee; and, whereas there is no prospect of increasing this Fund; and whereas it is inexpedient and unprofitable to train Evangelists who, after leaving the Institution will not be under the control of the Committee, and

[1] J.S. Moffat to Thompson, 21 March 1888.
[2] Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 29 September 1892.

> still less to train men at our expense to become clerks, touts, and hawkers for traders, this Committee is unanimously of opinion that the Theological Seminary of the Moffat Institution should be forthwith closed."[1]

The general level of success and failure of the mission educational system was also reflected in the welfare of that system and the interest taken by the Africans in education. It is interesting to note that in the earlier part of the period, the level of educational activity was low and little interest in education was taken by the Natives[2], while toward the end of the period, education had been stimulated by an eagerness on the part of the Africans.[3] It could be argued, without a lack of rather strong evidence, that the level of educational enthusiasm and achievement was in proportion to the political developments of the country, and the degree of "settling in" of the Africans to the Europeanized environment. Accompanying this lack of interest in education was the low level of education at the time, both in the village schools and in the Institution.[4]

An interesting phenomenom, indicative of the things to come, was the effort on the part of the missionaries, conscious of the poor educational level achieved by candidates to the Institution,

[1] Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 4 May 1897.
[2] Lloyd to Thompson, 20 November 1885, Williams to Thompson, 29 October 1894 and 17 Au gust 1887, J.T.Brown to Thompson, July 1887, B.D.C. minutes, 29 September 1892.
[3] Ashton to Thompson, 22 April 1895, J.T.Brown to Thompson, 29 January 1896, Wookey to Thompson, 20 June 1896, and B.D.C. minutes, 2 March 1899.
[4] J.T.Brown to Thompson, 14 January 1886 and 20 August 1886, B.D.C. minutes, 29 September 1892, and J.T.Brown, 13 May 1893.

to raise the standard of education at the main stations by concentrating their energies on more complex and elaborate schools there, making them the centres around which village schools revolved. The schools became larger, more subjects were taught, and the teaching staff, including the missionary himself, were enlarged. Women missionaries were brought in to devote their entire time to teaching. The policy had become one of having several large school centres in the hope that basic education could be given, if not in the villages then in the main towns, and also to pave the way for higher education at the Institution. There was, then, a general localized buildup of central station schools under the direct supervision of the missionaries.[1] The strategy and programme of the effort was described in the minutes of the Bechuanaland District Committee:

> "Resolved: That a European teacher be appointed to each station whose duty shall be to teach the Elementary School in connexion with the Church at the Mission Station, and to inspect the schools under native teachers at the outstations annually."[2]

This system had an effect also on the Native teachers, for one of its purposes was a more systematic organization and apportionment of village teachers and teachers in the schools on the main stations. This same move continued the payment of teacher salaries

[1]Wookey to Thompson, 17 May 1886 and 7 September 1885, Brown to Thompson, 14 January 1886, Hepburn to Thompson, 24 October 1890, Miss Young to Thompson, 7 May 1894 and 23 April 1896, Miss Young to Cousins, 17 May 1897, and B.D.C. minutes, 29 September 1892.
[2]Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 24 August 1897.

partly from mission funds and partly from local money, with the desire voiced for eventual self-support.

> "Resolved: That each of the important outstations be provided with a native teacher at a salary of £24 per annum. This will mean at the first a maximum grant of £240 per annum, but as the years pass the share provided by each station will increase and the grant in aid will not need to be so large. That in order to raise the efficiency of the native teachers it be arranged to allow each station one additional teacher who shall relieve the teachers of the several outstations in turn, and set them free to attend the Central School of their own station, and that an additional grant of £50 per year be made for this purpose."[1]

In this period, the Institution suffered the same general problems of lack of interest on the part of the Africans, low educational preparation for the students in the Institute, and the necessity for re-evaluation of the school's work and future. That it was situated in an unfavourable position, especially when the railway lay a long distance to the east along with the main trends of population, came slowly to be realized. The two significant factors concerning the Institution, then, were a consideration in missionary circles about moving it to a more favourable site and changing its emphasis to fit more nearly the needs of the people and of the Society. During the beginning of the 1890's, discussion began concerning the prospective move. All agreed that it must be moved to a more central spot to the north, where the major Native population had come to reside. Finally, in 1896 a Committee decision paved

[1]Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 24 August 1897.

the way for the move, though the outcome of the new Institution lies beyond this period of study.

> "The Committee is very pleased to find that the Directors, not discouraged by their present experience of educational efforts in Bechuanaland, are prepared to make another start. Resolved: That we assure the Directors of our hearty sympathy with their desire to make a fresh start in a more central position than Kuruman."[1]

The disappointment in the results of the Institution led to a change in emphasis. Originally, the plan had been primarily to have a Theological School for the training of Native agents. When the previous educational achievement of the students was found to be inadequate, a Boys School was established in conjunction with it to prepare the students for the theological study. This Boys School was then changed largely into a boarding school. By this time, however, the need for teachers with the failure of the Boys School forced another change in emphasis. The final function of the Boys School in this period under study was to be a school primarily for the training of teachers, with other general instruction included.

> "Notwithstanding this disappointment of their hopes the Committee consider that to close the Boys Boarding School would be a misfortune to the mission. They therefore resolve that with a view to its being made worthy of continuance a special effort shall be made to make it as efficient as possible as a Normal School for the training of teachers."[2]

[1] Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 1 May 1896.
[2] B.D.C. minutes, 29 September 1892. For thought leading to this decision, see Price to Thompson, 23 March 1886, and 3 August 1887, J.T.Brown to Thompson, 6 July 1887 and 15 February 1893, and Ashton to Thompson, 19 August 1887.

It has been noted in a previous section that the relationship between the mission and Government had been getting more co-operative. By this time, Government subsidy of mission schools in the Cape Colony had become an established principle; therefore, it was quite natural that the missionaries accepted, even eagerly, the presence of Government schools and subsidy in Griqualand West, a part of the Cape Province. Many years before, in the time of Andries Waterboer, the Government grant had been considered necessary for proper operation, only to be refused by the Directors. With annexation of the territory to the Cape Colony, however, one of the functions of the Institution became the supply of teachers on a small scale to these Government supported schools. In speaking of a higher level of achievement for Native teachers, the Bechuanaland District Committee stated as early as 1886:

> "The fact that employment either by the Committee or possibly by Government will be made to depend on proficiency will act as a powerful stimulus to exertion, whilst at the Seminary."[1]

Again, in 1892 the interest of Government in education and the favourable reaction of the missionaries to this movement are seen in the minutes of the Committee:

> "Resolved: That in the present state of native education in British Bechuanaland, and in view of the fact that the Government is beginning to manifest a practical interest in this matter, there is every reason for our giving increased

[1]Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 9 February 1886.

attention to it."[1]

The increased Western influence on the school system, due in part to the new social environment and in part to a different concept among the newer missionaries, may be noted in the curricula both of the central mission schools and of the Institution. In the station schools, besides English both as a teaching medium and as a subject, the curricula had become larger, though not to the complexity of British schools, especially in contrast to the village schools, as the following examples indicate:

> "My personal attendances at the school were 54. On these occasions I taught the geography of South Africa, with map: also reading, writing, arithmetic, and Scripture."[2]

The more elaborate curriculum at Phalapye showed a further development:

> "The school is carried on in the same way as an English school, so near as possible. The subjects taught are: reading, writing, arithmetic, Scripture, needlework, geography, drawing, domestic economy, kindergarten, singing and musical drill."[3]

In the Institution, similar developments were taking place. The course of study for the Boys Boarding School consisted of the following subjects:

> "Class I Reading IV Royal Reader. Arithmetic. Interest Simple and Compound, Profit and Loss.

[1] B.D.C. minutes, 3 May 1892. See also B.D.C. minutes, 6 March 1888, Price to Thompson, 27 May 1894 and December 1894, Miss Wallace to Thompson, 11 November 1894, and Ashton to Thompson, 22 April 1895.
[2] Lloyd to Thompson, 6 May 1886.
[3] Miss Young to Thompson, 23 April 1896.

> Percentages and Miscellaneous Problems embracing all the useful rules.
> Class II Reading II Royal Reader. Arithmetic. Compound Rules, Simple and Compound Proportion, Practice and Vulgar Fractions.
> Class III Arithmetic. Simple Rules and Compound of Money to Multiplication. Geography England and Wales and Palestine."[1]

The work of the printing press shared the ups and downs of educational interest and achievement. In 1889, prospects seemed good for this facet of work, with interest at a fairly high level[2], but by 1891, the work had again failed and remained in a low state until almost the end of the century, when it again revived along with education in general.[3] Though the influence of the general educational atmosphere undoubtedly accounted somewhat for the failure, in printing as in education and other undertakings, the human factor was most important.

> "Who can estimate the good such a means of disseminating knowledge would and did effect? Our influence in the country will be completely broken by this spasmodic way of working. In fact, the work that we allow to slip through our fingers will be taken up by others, and we shall be defeated."[4]

As a conclusion to this study and survey of educational work in the period 1885-1890, it is interesting to note the beginning of

[1]Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 6 March 1888.
[2]Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 5 March 1889, Wookey to Thompson, 16 July 1889 and 20 August 1889, Gould to Thompson, 4 August 1890, and Wookey to Thompson, 4 August 1890.
[3]See Gould to Thompson, 11 March 1891, Price to Thompson, 28 January 1896, and Wookey to Thompson, 18 August 1899.
[4]Gould to Thompson, 11 March 1891.

serious and constructive criticism from the outside on the work of the missions. Laying personal criticism based on prejudice aside, the question concerning the necessity of missionaries undertaking the work of education in addition to purely evangelical work is most significant, for the problem is great today, especially with the growing assumption of educational responsibility by Government. That educational work has and still does consume much of the time and effort of missionaries is an obvious fact, and from as early as this period, the question was arising as to its necessity. Representative thought on the subject is seen in a statement by Williams:

> "I have thought very much of the suggestion made and advocated by Macy that missionaries should relinquish this part of their work and confine themselves to preaching, etc. I wonder where we should be today in Bechuanaland if this advice were acted upon, inasmuch as there is no school in the country except such as are carried on by the agents of Missionary Societies. The advantages of secular education combined with the influence of Christian teachers cannot fail to lift them as they grow older to an appreciation even greater than their forefathers of the privileges, and blessings of the Redeemer's Kingdom."[1]

It may be seen here that the assumption, consciously or otherwise, that education was necessary to be an effective Christian remained in the minds of the missionaries, and they considered it not so much a good work stemming from their own Christian motivations as

[1]Williams to Thompson, 3 May 1889.

a prerequisite to Christian growth in others.

C. Architecture

The architecture of the period 1885-1900 was virtually a repetition of the development and underlying ideas of the previous period. The pole and reed structure, or the round clay and thatch hut, so common in the pioneering days of the mission, had virtually disappeared from mission use at least, except for some of the outstations and temporary mission centres. An example may be given in a letter from Hepburn, whose station had just been changed by the removal of the tribe from Shoshong to Palapye, and also the situation of Wookey.[1] Generally, though, the brick or stone building was rapidly replacing more temporary structures, even to a certain extent in Native housing, under the influence of the missionaries and the new social environment. Even in the outstations this movement was going on.

> "Another very encouraging sign of spiritual awakening among the people of this district is the widespread desire to replace the wretched hovels in which they have hitherto held divine service by substantial brick buildings. Four such chapels have already been erected and opened for worship."[2]

Another continued feature was the use of skilled European labourers with most of the unskilled labour coming from voluntary or paid Africans.[3] Generally on the outstations the buildings were paid for

[1]Hepburn to Thompson, 16 December 1889 and Wookey to Thompson, 24 October 1890.
[2]Price to Thompson, 11 January 1889.
[3]Price to Thompson, 20 January 1886, and Wookey to Thompson, 30 October 1888 and 4 August 1890.

from local funds, and on some of the main stations work was done without money from the Society. On some projects, however, funds not only came from the Society, but plans also--an interesting development for a group trying to diminish dependence on an outside Church to a minimum.[1] The remaining factors similar to earlier periods are repair work and the difficulty of obtaining certain materials seen in various letters of the period. Except for a very few new sidelights, however, architecture seems to have followed the general lines previously laid down and to have been of secondary importance compared to other aspects.

D. Agriculture

The place of agriculture in the general missionary scheme was virtually the same as that of architecture. Little of a novel nature occurred, and agricultural activities seemed to move in those lines already laid down. Like architecture, its place of importance was in earlier periods in the establishment and development of the stations. Once its place of importance had been achieved, other aspects such as education, self-support, and self-government moved to the foreground. In earlier days, the missionaries had been builders and farmers of necessity, but the later periods showed them as less inclined toward this work. By the end of the century, they had become more specialized professional men, and the work of agriculture and architecture was left either

[1]Wookey to Thompson, 24 October 1890 and Willoughby to Thompson, 21 July 1894.

to the Africans who had become more adept in the arts, or to skilled European labourers.

E. Efforts toward Missionary Recession

The goal of complete self-support continued to be unattained in this period, though in some ways it progressed. Efforts remained much the same as in the past, with Society funds going to pay the salaries of evangelists, while local teachers and pastors were paid as much as possible from local funds. Regarding the money collected from the people, the system was a Local Teachers Fund, covering the whole of the mission and paid through the missionaries to a central place, from which allocations were made according to need. This system would eventually lead to trouble, as the following statement shows:

> "I find that in 1894 that Kuruman District received £132 from the fund, and only contributed £32-19-0 to it. You will not wonder that I dared not mention this fact while pleading for more liberality; for while the people of Kuruman District have had Gospel privileges from childhood, the 1142 church members there, who contributed on an average 6½d a head in 1894, are quite as able to help themselves as our people are to help them. Before I can hope for much improvement in the state of the fund such a matter as this will have to be faced and altered."[1]

The control of these funds, it must be remembered, remained solely in the hands of the missionaries. As long as the agents were paid from the Committee from funds controlled by the Committee, self-support lacked its necessary concomitant, self-government, the

[1]J.T. Brown to Thompson, 7 January 1896.

evangelists and pastors remained in the long run just employees of a foreign Society, not leaders of their own Christian people. This the missionaries either failed to realize or were unable to achieve.

Aside from voluntary subscriptions, self-support took the form of such things as fees for school instruction. Tuition at the Institution varied with the policy, but was used to help meet the general expenses and to make the education appreciated. In the larger mission schools, fees were charged for the teaching of English, which was coming to be more appreciated as the need for getting along in the white Man's civilization was realized.[1] A danger inherent in this approach was the ability of the head men and more prosperous of the African farmers to pay the school fees and the inability of many of the poorer folk to pay, thus allowing the rich to have the English education while the poor were neglected. While not enough time remained in the period under study to note this development, the germ was there in the superiority complex of half educated men over their less fortunate tribesmen. It would be logical to assume that the acquisition of

[1]For institutional fees, see B.D.C. minutes, 9 February 1886 and 14 March 1898, J.T.Brown to Thompson, 29 January 1896, Price to Thompson, 3 August 1887, and Williams to Thompson, 6 December 1892. For school fees, see Williams to Thompson, 6 December 1892, B.D.C. minutes, 29 September 1892, Lloyd to Thompson, 21 February 1893 and 21 December 1893, J.T.Brown to Thompson, 13 May 1893, Willoughby to Thompson, 19 November 1894, and Miss Young to Thompson, 23 April 1896.

English by some would further accentuate this natural inclination.

> "The idea of the headmen is to get the missionaries to give their sons and daughters an education to the neglect of the mass. It is therefore that I come to cry incessantly; let us do our duty to the mass, let them be taught at least to read and write. Their silence to me, is most significant. It is the germ of the very controversy now in full flower in the Colony. There the missionaries are being blamed, forsooth, because they have not taught the highly favoured sufficiently in the Greek and Latin classics. It would have so refined them. Why, we have Cape Town here at Shoshong. The sons of big men strutting about shoddy imitations of white men after hard hours spent by the missionaries in teaching them all the little they know. Is it any wonder that the old men would rather see them going about the cattle naked as in the days of old."[1]

In the development of a Native agency, several things are worth noting. The difficulty of training men to be teachers was a grave problem, as noted in the effort to change the Boys Boarding School into a Normal School for the training of teachers. In the African mind, teaching was on an inferior level to preaching, and consequently many more men were becoming preachers or evangelists than were assuming the duties of teachers. In some places, the definition of Native agent had not yet been sharpened enough to differentiate, and some of the men were still performing the functions of both. The difficulties witnessed in the last period concerning the desire on the part of the African agents for ordination and the right to administer the Sacraments were reflected in what seems to be tighter control of the agents by the Committee.[2] This supervision at its

[1]Hepburn to Thompson, 1 January 1885.
[2]Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 2 March 1899.

District level was combined also with a rather wide effort to give practical help and instruction to Native pastors in regular informal district meetings.

> "I have pleasure to state that I have recently started a preaching class for our Native Preachers. The membership of this class at present is 17, though I have not received all who wished to enter it."[1]

The low standard of education in the village schools, coupled with the scarcity of Native teachers, led the Committee to make an effort to provide for better education and more teachers, to expand the use of and provision for the teachers.

> "Resolved: That the Directors be asked to make provision for the employment of one or more trained native assistant-teachers in the elementary schools of the principal stations in the Bechuanaland Mission. That the minimum rate of pay for such assistants be at the rate of £15 per annum, and that the rate of pay should be gradually increased by length of service and efficiency until the trained teacher receives £24 per annum, the amount now usually given to Evangelists. That on the adoption of this scheme by the Directors it be made known to the pupils in the various elementary schools as an inducement to fit themselves for admission to the Boarding School to be trained as teachers."[2]

Concerning the pay for Native agents, it should be noted that further efforts toward standardized salaries were made in this period. In the minutes of the Bechuanaland District Committee for 4 March 1890, the goal aimed at was £24 per annum. Those

[1] Lloyd to Thompson, 21 February 1893. See also J.T.Brown to Thompson, 9 October 1885, and Wookey to Thompson, 16 July 1889.
[2] Bechuanaland District Committee minutes, 29 September 1892.

places which had achieved a higher level through complete self-support of the agent were allowed to continue at that rate. In 1898, due to a tightening of financial resources, the Native evangelists were changed to support by the particular district in which they were working, thus laying a heavier stress and responsibility on local funds rather than on Society funds. In general, though, it may be said that efforts toward self-support and Native agency moved forward a bit, though the goals were by no means achieved.[1]

F. The Progress of Civilization

As serious, self-examining criticism had begun to be raised concerning the position of education in the mission programme, so criticism concerning the missionary's attitudes and approach to Native customs also appeared. The idea began to make itself prominent that the missionary approach in the past condemning Native customs, and especially clothing, had been wrong--that the missionary should live as much like the people as possible, and take them where they are, assuming that Christianity could flourish and grow in any environment. The general missionary attitude to that time had been, however, that part of the work of spreading the Gospel, in fact part of the Gospel itself, was the raising of living conditions and standards. In many cases, from an historical

[1]Lloyd to Thompson, 21 February 1893, and minutes of Bechuanaland District Committee, 24 August 1897 and 29 September 1892.

perspective, this insistence on compliance with Western customs and moral standards seemed a prerequisite to Christianity in the actions of the missionaries. In defending this latter position, Lloyd answered the criticism:

> "I see that Canon Taylor has been troubling your peace at home. Some of his statements are too ridiculous to be dealt with seriously. Canon Taylor tells us that we should eat and dress like the heathen which we teach, does he not? I fear the Canon would find it a tough business to eat roots and raw flesh like the Bushmen; or to eat horse flesh and putrid meat of all kinds like the heathen Bechuana; or to eat diseased meat like all the Bechuana, as well as other tribes. The Canon's suggestion that we should dress like the people has one recommendation, certainly, and that is, its economy. You must have seen, when you were here, how very inexpensive were the garments of the heathen Bechuana and the Matebele. To imitate them a very limited wardrobe would suffice. And yet, forsooth, Canon Taylor would have the missionaries dress like the heathen. I thought that it was a missionary's duty to teach his people cleanliness and decency, in food and dress among other things; but if the missionary is to imitate the people in their food and dress, instead of teaching them to give up their foul and indecent customs, I do not see how the poor heathen are to advance. I do not read in my New Testament that I am to do any such thing. The heathen would be very much surprised to see a missionary imitate them. I believe that it is better for both heathen and Christians that the distinction between them should be clear and decided."[1]

This defence reflected also on the general attitude toward the Natives and their way of life. While denouncing such things as

[1]Lloyd to Thompson, 13 January 1889.

the murder of twins[1], they also held firm to their belief in the evil of the initiation ceremonies without making an attempt to harness them in a purified form to the working of the Church.[2] Similar to present day problems, a resurgence of old customs took place in this period and was largely a reaction to the unsettled conditions resultant from the European settlement and British Government. Thus, the political movement had a religious sanction which forced the missionaries and Africans into a very delicate position. The Church was unwittingly placed in a position hostile to many of the Africans and appeared in the light of a Western institution.

> "We are just now in the midst of another upheaval of the old heathenism in connexion with the circumcision ceremony. It is being carried out this time on a much larger scale than for some time past—the eldest son of the heir apparent being in it; and though I am convinced that its significance is more political than religious, still it is in itself a debasing institution, and its effects must be disastrous to God's work. As a political movement it is anything but hopeful for the peace of the country. Its manifest design is to foster the power of the chief; and it is astonishing to me that the Government cannot see what will be the inevitable result of this strengthening of the chief's power. From last week's cablegrams I see that the Administer has recently reported to the Home Government that the force in the country is inadequate in view of the disloyalty of the chiefs; and yet the people are assured that the chief is acting with the consent of the Government in carrying on a foul system which is most discouraging to those of the people who are

[1] Wookey to Thompson, 17 May 1886.
[2] Wookey to Thompson, 30 October 1888, J.T.Brown to Thompson, 13 May 1893, Williams to Thompson, 6 August 1894—all show this dislike and lack of adaptation.

loyal and well disposed."[1]

From this quotation it may be seen that the missionaries were rather eager for the new social situation to sap the power of most chiefs, that the Church might have a better chance of reaching the Natives through a sort of spiritual vacuum resulting from the decline of Native practices. On the other hand, in the north where more enlightened Chiefs were working with the missionaries, more of an effort was made to preserve the position of the Chiefs.

> "I am afraid that we shall find Mangwato much like other centres of Bantu population, except that we have more who are trying to live a Christian life and that we have no drink, and that the influence of the chief and the Christian people has been strong enough to put down the heathen ceremonies."[2]

In other aspects, customs such as marriage remained virtually the same. The insistence on monogamous church marriages, while becoming a common occurrence among Christians, still worked hardships on much of the population.[3] In most aspects of customs, while remaining rigid in their convictions, the missionaries were beginning to show an understanding of and sympathy with much of Native life which brought frustration and re-examination in their own minds. As the century closed, critical examination was beginning to displace condemnation, and a more anthropological and sociological

[1] J.T.Brown to Thompson, 24 March 1891.
[2] Willoughby to Thompson, 16 March 1894. See also J.T.Brown to Thompson, 16 June 1899.
[3] Wookey to Thompson, 3 February 1895.

approach was dawning. This breakdown of rigidity may be seen in the very liberal view of Willoughby regarding the Lord's Supper:

> "I found they had been in the habit of celebrating the Communion with very orthodox little squares of English bread and—well, wine was an impossibility under the chief's wise restriction of foreign liquors, so they bought raisins and poured hot water on them and called it "wine." This very "stagey" proceeding seemed quite out of harmony with the beautiful simplicity of our Lord's intention, and so I advised them to use their own little cakes and their own common drink—water. I explained to them that our Lord instituted the service with a common article of food and a common beverage, and that they would please him quite as well as if in the spirit of true communion they took such food and drink as were quite common among them. They said they were willing to leave that in my hands. So we observe it with the little cakes that they cook on the ashes, and water. I don't like deciding matters of this kind for a church. I prefer to guide them to an intelligent decision."[1]

It may be noted in this period that, slow as it might be, a change was being made in basic attitudes and actions concerning customs and life.

[1]Willoughby to Thompson, 7 August 1893.

Chapter VIII. Conclusions and Analysis

By way of drawing the various strands which run through the several periods together, this chapter is intended to serve the dual purpose of presenting past conclusions in a condensed form and of examining the course of action and thought pursued in the light of more recent criticism and thought. The following divisions, while not staying strictly with the outline used in former chapters, nevertheless break the material into two basic parts, the first applying to Western civilization in the thoughts and actions of the missionaries and consequently in the lives of their converts and others of the African population, and the second to the nature of the Church which they established.

A. Transmission of Western Civilization

1. Attitude toward Government

As used in this thesis, the attitude toward Government has been enlarged from its strict sense to serve as an indication of the total allegiance to and sympathy with the home nation and civilization of the missionaries, as well as their opinion of and participation in the outward expansion and influence of that nation and background. In this sense, then, conclusions based on material previously presented will be given and external criticism applied.

In the pioneering period, there was a difference of opinion as to Government. Those at Kuruman were strongly against any dealings with Government and preferred an isolated type of work, far from the borders

of the Cape Colony. Undoubtedly, this arose at least in part from the strained relationships between them and certain Cape officials. Those at Griqua Town, partly because of their proximity to the Cape border and partly because of their kinship of attitude with Dr. Philip, favoured the building up of close ties with the Cape Colony, leading either to Native border states or to eventual annexation. This influence of Dr. Philip would be difficult to overestimate, for it implied strong missionary influence along with territorial segregation.

> "Missionaries have consistently advocated territorial separation as it operates in the reserves, in Basutoland, and Bechuanaland. On the other hand they have been introducers of Western civilization--assimilationists, up to a point."[1]

> "He (Philip) alone came near evolving a hopeful practical policy, both for the Coloured people within, and for the Natives who were then beyond the Colony. His policy was that these backward people should be firmly fixed in homes and on lands of their own."[2]

> "His practical policy at every stage of his career was a passionate struggle to secure, first for the Hottentots, later for Griquas and Kafirs, land and homes of their own, with the opportunity to live and develop their own separate existence."[3]

As conditions changed and Native states became increasingly doubtful, annexation took its place in the minds of the southern missionaries. Whether in the form of colonialism or protectorateship, this favourable leaning toward British rule and its extension existed at a very early period in the south. At Kuruman, a favourable attitude toward

[1] Smith, E.W., Those Blessed Missionaries, p.14.
[2] Macmillan, W.M., The Cape Coloured Question, p.279.
[3] Macmillan, Ibid., p.174.

Britain and its limited influence also existed, though it did not apply specifically to Cape Colony administration, and only to British Government at a distance. In any case, Kuruman was far enough removed from the Cape Colony border not to be faced directly with a choice for many years, and was not influenced favourably by the strategy of Dr. Philip, who received at best a cool reception at Kuruman. This initial difference may be seen reflected also in efforts toward civilization. Near the close of the 1830's, the southern section began to show a change. Autonomous Native states, the plan of Dr. Philip, were beginning to fail as the necessity for annexation, at least in the minds of the southern missionaries, became increasingly evident in the face of European emigration. As the period of isolation from general European contact and influence came to a close, a particular criticism of mission work and principle became more relavent, particularly concerning Government:

> "European and American Christianity is deeply imbued with Western mentality and ideas, and its spread in Africa in the last centuries has gone along with European expansion, so that to many non-Europeans it is bound to appear as an exponent of the white man's culture or even of his political aspirations. Missionary work in Africa is deeply influenced by this state of things. The truth that Christianity is supra-national like every true religion is, in practice at least, but reluctantly recognized by some colonial governments. The missionary working in a European colony may be expected to serve not only his vocation but also the country in whose colony he works. He may agree with this demand and act in accordance with it. But it may bring him into conflict with his Christian convictions and may make his work difficult. Missionaries are considered as a useful instrument for nationalizing the

> natives, that is to say, for assimilating them to the European mother country, and they are welcome in so far as they serve this purpose."[1]

In examining this statement, the first point to be noted was the prior position of the missionaries to either European settlers or Government. Their presence was not due to Government support, for there was no European Government in the area, and they began despite the actions and attitudes of Cape officials. Christianity did not move in after British expansion or depend on the Government's sanction of its work. As such, the assertion that missions are virtually Government agencies is entirely unfounded in this case, at least before European expansion into the area. Its applicability after such a move will be examined shortly. On the other hand, the actual attitude toward Britain and British rule is a different question. The extent of differentiation between sheer love of home and desire for British rule as such, and political expediency reflecting a preference for British rule rather than Boer can not be defined precisely. Both factors were present, no doubt, and the virtually unbounded enthusiasm for colonialism, present in a later period, probably did not exist at this time. However, a strong predisposition toward British rule was present, strengthened by a fear of Boer administration. More to the north, the missionaries had come to modify their isolationalist view, due to a certain extent, probably, to a changed Cape Colonial attitude and the fear of Boer

[1]Westermann, Diedrich, Africa and Christianity, p.57.

rule. Their attitude, though, may not be equated with that of the southern missionary group, who were far more favourably inclined and politically active.

The period 1840-1860 was dominated by the Boer problem, and marked the end of isolated aloofness to Government, for with the appearance of settled Europeans, some form of European Government was but a matter of time, and with it came a multitude of problems. The question was not one of preferring to have or not have a European Government in one form or another, but which one, and the extent of alignment with that Government. To the missionaries, the choice was an obvious one, due in part to their natural inclination toward Britain and in part to their strong dislike of the Boers. The area most affected, the south, witnessed missionary efforts to ensure a British victory, and even men like Livingstone to the northeast were accused of supplying guns for the defeat of the Boers. The developments of this time, thus, must be seen in the light of the changed political conditions and not so much as a change of position in an isolated environment. The following decade was in many ways an extension of the earlier period regarding the attitude of the missionaries toward British Government, though intensified because of the Griqualand diamond discovery which brought a large British population to the area. With the presence of the two European communities, the struggle for dominance between the two, which concerned the diamond areas at first and later spread to a struggle for the African interior and the Boer

War, began, forcing the missionaries from their once quiet position to an active alliance with British Government in a struggle which stemmed back to British-Boer differences in the Cape Colony. That they were active, even exceedingly so at times, can not be discounted, but their concern for the rights of their African people may be seen to be equally important, for they complained against as much as they supported British expansion. Without the strong political pressures, it might well be argued that they would have been much less interested in such rule. Taking all considerations into account, however, it must be said that rightly or wrongly, they placed themselves, or were placed by their European race and nationality, in the position of supporting Government, and in the eyes of many people, including the more unruly element of the African population, were little less than Government agents and upholders of Western domination. Such situations as the following provided the conditions for such a belief:

> "Following the discovery of diamonds and the seizing of Griqualand, the Griquas, smarting under their grievances, especially in regard to their lands, had risen in rebellion and were joined by some of the Bechuana. This little war, which was carried over the border into Bechuanaland, left the southern tribes disorganized, demoralized."[1]

While Government considered the missionaries primarily as helpers in the Europeanization of the Natives, and some of the Natives looked upon the missionaries as tools of the Government and the white men in

[1] Smith, Op. Cit., p.98.

general, those who knew the missionaries best, African and European alike, realized the unusual position of the missionaries, standing as they did between the two groups. In reality, they were not agents or upholders, but worked for the best solution to the problem. With that activity, though, came the problems of work in a colonial territory.

For the remainder of the century, these missionaries worked under a British Colonial Government, either through annexation to the Cape or through the establishment of a Protectorate. In either case, the primary presuppositions of a colonial Government had to be met.

> "The outspoken aim of most colonial Powers is to make their part of Africa, and the people therein, as European as possible; to replace in the political, economic, social, and religious spheres the indigenous institutions and ideals by the corresponding European ones, in order to stabilize and perpetuate their dominance. In the prosecution of this aim they are supported by the fact that Western civilization, and it is not surprising that, for the average European, to civilize an African is to Europeanize him."[1]

> "Close contact between missionary work and colonial administration is inevitable. On the other hand, when a missionary works in one of the colonies of his own country he may with natural patriotism and with the desire to serve his country forget that he represents a kingdom which has nothing to do with political boundaries."[2]

Other problems, dealing more specifically with Governments effect on certain aspects of mission work, will be discussed under the approp-

[1] Westermann, Africa and Christianity, p. 32.
[2] Westermann, Ibid., p. 58.

riate headings. That the coming of Government did pose new problems can not be discounted, as the following samples indicate:

> "Because the African loves what Europe offers him, he also loves Christianity, which in his eyes is the religion of the white man and part of his civilization. This view is strengthened by the fact that missions work in close alliance with colonial governments, and these appreciate missionary work because it helps them to civilize the native. This attitude has in the past advanced the cause of Christian missions, but there is a danger inherent in it, because it obscures the fact that Christianity is a factor of its own and has fundamentally nothing to do with European civilization."[1]

> "Progress towards some measure of political self-administration is more difficult to achieve in countries where there is white settlement. Here the European population will want to have immediate control of the country and its resources, including the natives, and there will be few openings for independent native development."[2]

That the incoming European population robbed the Africans of much of their self-rule is obvious from history, though in some ways the missionaries fought for local rights, and in other ways contributed to the lessening of tribal power when it tended to be unruly or uncooperative. Concerning the aim of colonial administration to Europeanize the Africans, the missionaries stood primarily for a recognition of the rights of those Africans who had achieved a certain amount of civilization under them. Generally, the key figures of the time in that area were patient and sympathetic men, though many of the lesser officials and citizens were far from ideal. To most, however, the

[1] Westermann, Op. Cit., p. 28.
[2] Westermann, Ibid., p. 42.

general late nineteenth century colonial presuppositions applied to a greater or lesser degree. As will be shown in the section on civilization, too little distinction was made, both in the minds of the missionaries and of the European community, between Christianity and Western civilization.

As the century wore on, the distinction between the missionaries and other Europeans became duller in the minds of many Africans. This is shown perhaps most clearly in the lack of security afforded the missionaries during Native uprisings, due no doubt to a misinterpretation of missionary motives in supporting the extension of British administration and influence. By this time, also, the international interest in the African interior had brought in an intensified form of colonialism, and the factor of rivalry drew out in many of the missionaries a national pride which went beyond the mere desire to save their area of work from Boer rule. While this pride was by no means obviously in all the men, nevertheless it was an indication of the general presupposition so prevalent during the last part of the nineteenth century that Britain was destined to spread its influence over a large portion of the earth, and that the civilization of Europe, or more particularly Britain, was the accepted ideal pattern of behavior, and should be given to all less developed peoples, sanctioned by the Western Church. By this time, the missionary attitude was reflecting the general opinion of colonialism at home, and followed, with some modifications, its growth in the late nineteenth

century.

After British rule had been established, directly or indirectly, from the Orange River to the Zambezi, the work of the missionaries, among other things, was the adjustment of their people to the new Government and way of life. In many ways, their work became more like British pastoral work, with British Government assumed and ever closer ties established between the two. By this time, it was too late to alter the situation. The work of the twentieth century lay in making the point clear that Christianity, while working within an established system, was supra-national in character, and the missionaries, while British citizens responsible to the Government, were only citizens and not agents for any particular group or race. As long as British citizens were missionaries under a British Government, the situation would remain in some form, subject to misunderstanding and suspicion.

2. Efforts toward Social Betterment

In previous chapters, certain subjects such as education, agriculture, and architecture have been discussed as activities complete in themselves and as means to particular ends. In this section, they will be evaluated and summarized according to motive, aim, and effect—in general, the part which they occupied in the total mission programme, and then fitted into the process of civilization in the following section. By way of setting the stage for an analysis, the following statement tells of the situation in general:

> "It soon became evident that evangelistic work among primitive peoples included a far wider range of acti-

> vities than preaching the Gospel; missions developed into the most important factor in the education of Africans: numbers were trained for arts and crafts, were helped to improve their agriculture, to build better homes and to attend to a higher standard of living. The missionaries became the friends, the leaders, and in some cases the law givers, of African communities."[1]

In the early period from 1815 to the beginning of European emigration, such indeed was the case. Starting out with the purpose of preaching the Gospel, very quickly the missionaries came to the conclusion that much had to be done by way of social betterment, or at least they felt that such was necessary. In the field of agriculture, the station at Griqua Town was started with the purpose of settling the Africans into an agricultural economy, and other stations following were based on an agricultural economy rather than a pastoral one as much as possible. Without exception, the missionaries deplored the disruptive effects of seasonal migration accompanying the pastoral economy and preferred a firmly established agricultural community. All the missionaries, regardless of station or time, found that in order to live, they had to cultivate gardens. This basic need quickly spread to demonstrating and urging the Natives to follow their example. Soon the mission stations became agriculturally oriented. Aside from the motive of wanting to share such knowledge out of Christian love, and the realization that agriculture brought with it a settled society, the missionaries came to use it as a means of evangelization and the basis for a civilization which had a definite Western nature. Agriculture was not a new thing brought in from the outside, for most of the Natives were agri-

[1]Westermann, Ibid., pp.139-140.

culturalists as well as stock herders, but the level of its development certainly was due to the work of the missionaries. That the introduction of such methods as the plough, for instance, changed many aspects of the Native way of life is without doubt, as any good study of Native life will show.[1] Other byproducts were the retaining of tribal land through permanent residency against encroachment and the development of the idea of private property as opposed to corporate ownership. While agriculture made evangelization easier through settlement and achieved other such ends, still its main importance was its function as the basis for the development of civilization, the preparation of the Africans for a more equal role in the European way of life, and the raising of the standard of living, both for this civilizing role and the increased ability to support the type of Church introduced by the missionaries. In this field, the missionaries did all they could with the limited means at hand, and, in the main, were able to keep it in its proper place, rather than allowing it to usurp the time and effort necessary for more strictly religious functions.

Architecturally speaking, a similar process took place. Finding that they must build their own shelter, the early missionaries used only very temporarily the local type of structure which they found, the Native hut. From the point of view of a Western standard of living, the Hut was unsatisfactory, and they very quickly changed to stone or brick structures, at least for mission buildings, patterned after the Western

[1] Excellent reference works along this line are Schapera, I., The Tswana, London: International African Institute, 1953, and Schapera, I., Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa, London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1934, along with many others.

mode as much as building materials, climate, and skill would allow. By way of social uplift, they encouraged the Africans to imitate them, thereby influencing local housing, and more particularly church buildings. The effect was not only in health, but also in immobility and expense. The effect on mission work will be discussed in the following section, but again, the result was in the development of Western civilization. Eventually, the matter of expense was to show itself in more expensive mission buildings, and the question could be raised whether the buildings were on a larger scale than the level of civilization achieved at the time and the prosperity of the people warranted. The following quotation, which shows this criticism on a larger scale, nevertheless applies also to buildings in particular.

> "Christian missions have brought an expensive type of church and way of life to underprivileged people. The western Church is geared to a high standard of living and to a middle class economy. Missions have planted this church, with its costly institutions, in subsistence economy societies in which there is hardly a middle class. A church is to be built, organized and operated; a trained pastor and family to be supported; school fees, books, better clothing, more food, new amenities and contacts with the outer world; in short, a higher standard of living is required. The villagers live close to the land. Their income is mostly in kind; they handle little cash. There is no place in the community for a non-productive family."[1]

Education was one of the most dominant features of the general uplift programme, stemming from many motives and presuppositions. Beginning primarily from the desire to teach the Africans to read the Scriptures, the process enlarged to include general social uplift and

[1] Davis, J.Merle, "Missionary Strategy and the Rural Church", International Review of Missions, 1949 (October), p.409. See also the same author in "Principles of Missions in a New Age", I.R.M., 1943 (July), p.266.

the development of civilization through educated people. Schools begun primarily as classes on Christianity, developed into reading, and later other subjects. The buildings which originally were churches, became separate as far as possible, with the goal of a church and school in every village. Before the development of a Native agency, the missionary was both preacher and teacher, and the first African leaders were teachers, thereby giving the impression to later observers that teachers were easier to train than preachers, that the missionaries were less hesitant about giving charge over to a teacher who was also a church leader or embryonic preacher, and that education had a very high place in the programme of the missionaries, and bore directly not only on the quality of the Christian group but also on its quantity. These motives and means are discussed in the following section devoted to the process of civilization. By the end of the century, education had gone through several stages of growth and mistake, with a new Seminary being planned for the training of teachers and ministers, a heavier emphasis on the schools at the mission centres which would in turn affect the out-stations, and a somewhat professionalized approach to education. While the educational system always retained its essentially religious approach, still, it would seem at the end of the century that either the accent was not so strong as before, or that the schools had widened their sphere, and placed religious instruction in a somewhat different proportion. Education had definitely taken on a Western character, and, while enlarging to influence a wide area, seems

to have lost some of its spontaneous nature and assumed instead a more formal nature in keeping with Western institutions, especially on the stations proper. In a way, the education of the missions was lacking in its more practical aspects, and seems to have fitted the African community like an ill-proportioned coat, neither made for the other.

> "The ambition which looms largest is to build up an institution in imitation of the typical English school, without full consideration of the type of education given upon the general community, or the effect of the work done, either in the immediate surrounding community, or in the village schools loosely attached to the institution. This often produces an island of culture in a sea of ignorance and superstition, the institution living its life as an isolated unit, and exerting little if any influence on living conditions in the backward areas."[1]

While much of this criticism could not fairly be applied entirely to the mission stations under consideration, by the end of the century the more complex central schools were moving in this direction, and many of the problems found today stem back to the methods and principles of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, education had accomplished a great deal, and despite their failures and lack of insight, the missionaries deserve only praise in their long and thankless task of educating a whole population. That the educational system still needed much thought, though, was obvious as the century ended.

The above work would be incompletely understood without a brief consideration of the attitude held by the missionaries toward the Native way of life in which they found themselves placed. Their efforts toward the introduction of Western civilization into their working

[1]Seaton, W.H., Schools in Travail, 1932, p.50.

environment indicated obviously their discontent with the existing situation. The point of interest, however, is the extent to which they tried to bring about changes, and the type of change they wanted. Clothing was one of the obvious changes, for they felt that the mode of dress practiced was not only indecent from a nineteenth century European point of view, but also that a Native Christian was in some way not really Christian until he had adopted a fuller dress, more specifically European dress. By not thinking out such a policy, and by using the only standard they knew, European, they made a definite mistake. In speaking generally of the attitude held by the older missionaries toward Native customs and mode of life, the following quotation also deals with the problem of clothing.

> "Their single-minded zeal led them to destroy some things which we now think are worth preserving and to introduce new miseries as they sought to wipe out the old. They confused clothing the naked with forcing unsuitable garments on South Sea Islanders and Christian ethics with nineteenth century European custom."[1]

More serious in its effects was their attitude toward tribal customs. Marriage, for instance, was a grave problem, as it is today, and their insistence on monogamy, the abolition of child marriages, Christian sanctification of marriage vows, and the abolition of "bride price" as the custom has erroneously been called, led to grave problems and serious trials on the part of the new Christians. Many of their attitudes, from a present-day viewpoint, were good, but in uprooting some customs which

[1]Price, T., "A Drifting Course", International Review of Missions, 1943, (July), p. 280.

were either essentially in harmony with the Christian message, neutral in nature, or transformable, they did considerable damage, and contributed to the impression that Christianity was a Western institution.[1] Probably the greatest obstacle they met in the Native way of life was the initiation rites, which served as a training for tribal life as well as marking the change from childhood to adulthood. Not having had a thorough grounding in social anthropology, the missionaries failed to realize the far reaching ramifications of these rites and, seeing only the more obnoxious aspects, tried to uproot them completely, thereby damaging tribal structure and concepts, besides erecting a barrier between tribal life and Christianity. Finally, the actual attitude toward the people themselves was based very largely on the attitude held toward Native customs. Placed in the superior position as far as general knowledge, the understanding of Christianity, and civilization were concerned, not to mention the advantages which went with being white, the missionaries by and large considered the Africans as children, and as such took much of the initiative which should have been exercised by the people themselves.

> "We have allowed racial and religious pride to direct our attitude towards those whom we have been wont to

[1] For a concrete example of a more enlightened harmonizing effort, see Wilson, W.G.de Lara, Christianity and Native Rites, London: Central African House Press, 1950, an analysis of this work in Harries, Lyndon, "Bishop Lucas and the Masasi Experiment", I.R.M., 1945 (October) pp. 389-396. See also, for general discussions of social customs, such examples as Monahan, C. Dermott, "The Christian Church and Indigenous Culture", I.R.M., 1945 (October), pp . 397-99, and Orchard, R.K., "Natural Law and Missionary Policy", I.R.M., 1948 (April), pp.172-80.

> call 'poor heathen.' We have approached them as superior beings, moved by charity to impart of our wealth to destitute and perishing souls. Approaching them in that spirit, we have desired to help them. We have been anxious to do something for them. And we have done much. We have done everything for them. We have taught them, baptised them, shepherded them. We have managed their funds, ordered their services, built their churches, provided their teachers. We have nursed them, fed them, doctored them. We have done everything for them except acknowledge any equality. We have done everything form them, but very little with them. We have done everything for them except give place to them. We have treated them as 'dear children' but not as 'brethren.'[1]

Benevolent as the motive might have been, convinced as they were of the rightness of the pattern of society from which they had come in opposition to the pattern of society to which they went, still the fact remains that the missionaries did much damage in their effort to do good--tares were sown among the wheat. In this sense, the above criticism is primarily correct in its application.

3. The Process of Civilization

In the previous section, the missionary efforts toward social improvement were followed according to the various types. In this section, the underlying principles, aims, and methods will be followed, to show the basis upon which individual works rested, and the continuity which they had.

In the pioneering stage of development, little could be expected in the way of civilization until a certain amount of basic work was completed. As was seen in the previous section, at Griqua Town the

[1]Allen, Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?, pp. 185-86.

people were persuaded to settle and turn their attentions more or less to agricultural pursuits. This was the first step, as all the missionaries realized that any type of civilization must be based on agricultural rather than pastoral pursuits. As later stations were founded, the same procedure followed, though less difficulty was encountered, as the Bechuana were already in towns and were far less transitory than the nomadic Griquas. A monetary system was introduced at Griqua Town, but the difference between the Native system and that of a more highly developed civilization was too radical, and it soon failed. An attempt was made to teach English in the early days of the Mission, but the lack of use to which the new knowledge could be put dampened the enthusiasm of the people, and the missionaries found it wiser to stop the effort. From the material available, it would seem that the missionaries tried to encorporate measures at the first which they found unsuccessful, gave them up, and contented themselves with trying a less radical approach, building up to the earlier approach only after many years had passed. Aside from these abortive efforts, the emphasis on European clothing, European food and manner of farming, European housing, and Western Church morality, noted in the previous section and in earlier chapters, even at this early period indicate that the missionaries intended to change the Native way of life, though in all fairness it must be stated that as yet such projected civilization could not specifically be called Western. That such efforts could easily work into Westernization, though, is evident, and was behind

the efforts in an undefined way. The missionary attitude toward Native rites and customs, housing, food, clothing, and general way of life, was certainly one of abhorance and dissatisfaction, and they indicated all too clearly that they felt a change was in keeping with the Gospel they were preaching. Thus, from the very beginning, changes were in order, dependent only on time and effort. These changes were in turn based on certain presuppositions, to which the following statements or criticisms applied, to a greater or lesser degree. Concerning the nature of the mission station, Roland Allen said:

> "We were compelled to decide at once our attitude to this heathen social order, in relation to ourselves, our converts, and the heathen to whom we went as missionaries. For ourselves we decided that it was impossible for us to dwell among the people, sharing their life. Even if it had been physically possible, it would have seemed like descending from heaven to share the sinful life of wicked men; we should have felt that we were partakers of their sin. Neither would we be nomads, wandering teachers, passing from town to town, and village to village, pausing here a while, and there a while, to instruct any who would hear. We settled permanently, we acquired land, we built houses, we established mission stations over against the people. To these stations we brought out our wives; in them we made our homes. Outwardly and inwardly these mission compounds were little bits of England transplanted into a foreign country. Within their walls was a European civilization; outside was a heathen civilization or barbarism."[1]

This phase of the work of civilization applied to the missionaries of Bechuanaland and Griqualand West from the very beginning for, as was noted earlier, a relatively short time elapsed before the stations took on a very settled, British character. What modification there was in

[1]Allen, Roland, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church, p.104. A notable exception to this rule was David Livingstone, who advocated a trial period, in which tribes had to demonstrate their willingness to receive the Gospel or lose their missionaries.

housing was due, not so much from a desire to avoid being European, but from limited skills and tools, from different building materials, and from a financial shortage. That their settled nature had an influence on the type of work they did can not be denied, and continued to do so for many years.

Concerning the attitude held toward Native customs, the following statement must be taken into account as a criterion for evaluation:

> "When a man became an inquirer, what were we to tell him? The customs were in our eyes obviously contrary to the Gospel, as we understood it. Were we to be content to leave him to find that out for himself, or were we to insist upon his abandoning them at once? We had no doubt whatever which was the right course to pursue: we forbade the customs: we could not tolerate them for a moment: we could not suffer anyone who called himself a Christian to tolerate them for a moment. Instantly the position of the converts became exceedingly difficult. Often they were persecuted, or even driven from their homes, or villages. They were being persecuted certainly as Christians but also because they obeyed our directions. Men cannot live without some social order. Obviously we could not simply destroy, we must construct some new order, we must teach them some customs to take the place of those which they had cast off. There was no time for them to create a Christian sociale order of their own. They could not gradually transform heathen customs into Christian customs as we had done in our own history; for our conscience had forbidden that. We must teach and they must learn a new social order at once. What customs could we teach them? Plainly only Christian customs, that is, the customs of the Christian compound. In other words they must adopt our civilization as far as they possibly could. Only poverty and ignorance prevented them from becoming exact imitations of us. Whatever we told them was a good custom."[1]

To a large extent, this criticism was true of the mission during this

[1] Allen, Roland, Ibid., pp. 105-6.

period of study. While there were not mission compounds in the strict sense of the word, in some places the missionary influence was such that compounds existed actually if not theoretically. Kuruman was a good example of this situation, for the town ceased to be one in which a missionary resided, and became instead a station on which Natives resided. Other stations were not to this extent, but were instead on a more temporary basis. The extent to which this criticism applied was relatively proportionate to the extent to which stations approximated compounds. Judging from the letters which the missionaries wrote, almost every one in the earlier days made concentrated efforts to bring the Natives up in the scale of civilization; and while at first the civilization could be so in general, it certainly tended toward a Westernized variety.

More important than the fact of the planting of Western civilization was the underlying thought. Again, Allen has summarized the criticism:

> "Putting intellectual, moral and social advance first in time, we inevitably tended to accept the position that reform of conditions was a necessary antecedent to the living of a Christian life. A 'Christian life' was a life separated from all heathen practices, it was a life of civilized Christian decency as we understood it. It was a life as nearly after our pattern as possible. We were then, and we are now, utterly incapable of conceiving, or recognizing, Christian life under barbarous conditions. Consequently, we naturally spoke often as if it were impossible to live a Christian life in bad surroundings."[1]

> "The only Christian civilization which we can impart directly to others is the civilization of Christian

[1] Allen, Ibid., pp. 111-12.

> England, Western Civilization. But that is not Christian Civilization, and to teach men this is indeed to mislead them."[1]

By no means can the blanket statement be made that all the missionaries looked upon social betterment or reform as the means by which the Africans were to be prepared for the spread of Christianity. Some were very hesitant to do so, considering themselves solely as preachers of the Gospel with no social interest. Most wanted the Bible and the plough to enter together and work in partnership. Some seemed to feel, however, that Christianity depended on civilization, though they did not say so in so many words, but rather put it in terms of the necessity for Native Christians to adher to the more "civilized" practices of European Christians and society, in order to be Christians.

A final criticism concerned the use of philanthropy as a means for attracting people to Christianity. To many critics, such work is admirable, so long as it is done as the expression of Christian love, but without obligations attached.

> "I hold that proselytizing under the cloak of humanitarian work is, to say the least, unhealthy. It is most certainly resented by the people here. Religion after all is a deeply personal matter, it touches the heart. Why should I change my religion because a doctor who professes Christianity as his religion has cured me of some disease, or why should the doctor expect or suggest such a change whilst I am under his influence? In my opinion these practices are not uplifting and give rise to suspicion if not even to secret hostility. The methods of conversion must be

[1]Allen, Ibid., p. 115.

like Caesar's wife, above suspicion."[1]

There can be no doubt that in the early period of missionary work in this area, humanitarian works were initiated and carried on, partially through the motive of Christian love, partly through the presupposition that Christian character somehow depended on abiding by British social customs, and partially as a means to conversion. The first motive existed in all, the second and third existed in differing proportions according to the individual. That they existed can not be denied, according to the letters they wrote.

Efforts toward civilization in the decade 1830-40 continued along the same lines as in the earlier period, though by this time much of the pioneering had been accomplished, and young congregations were beginning to emerge in places other than Griqua Town. In these groups, the desire to imitate the missionaries was keener after conversion, and the work progressed at a more rapid rate, even beyond the confines of the stations and converted Christians, though the effects of some type of advanced civilization had not penetrated too far into the countryside. As was to be expected, such things as clothing, housing, agriculture, and to a certain extent the moral code emphasized by the missionaries were the areas in which the most progress was made. In any case, however, the work was slow and entirely imitative at this time, free expression arising from the external stimulus having little place to work under the conditions. Though the only pattern to be copied

[1]Ghandi, article in Young India, April 23, 1931. See also Allen, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church, pp. 122-130, Hocking, Rethinking Missions, pp. 70-72, 65, and 214, Paton, Christian Missions and the Judgment of God, p.41, and Westermann, Christianity and Africa, p. 151.

was the Western form presented by the missionaries, the trends had not crystalized to the point that Western civilization was substantially obvious, though indications certainly were in that direction. In the same way, the above criticisms applied as formerly.

With the appearance of European emigrants, the process of civilization took an interesting turn. Before, the missionaries had been content with and even desirous of creating some types of civilization among the African people outside the presence and influence of the Cape Colony and its European population. Though the southern missionaries were more inclined toward good relations with the Cape, perhaps even to the point of eventual annexation, even they were hesitant about actually having a European population in their midst. As a consequence, when the European emigrants came, the attitude was at first that of fighting the Boers, but soon tried to made the best of the situation by using the European population as a stimulus for Native civilization. It was at this point, with the immediate impact of the European community on the African population, that the civilization aimed at by the missionaries became obviously that of the West. Though the general work of social improvement and uplift had been in the missionary programme from the very beginning, with the motives and effects mentioned earlier, its external characteristics could not be said to be strictly Western. With their presuppositions and background, it is difficult to see how the missionaries would have been able to make much of a compromise in the type of civilization they tried to

introduce, but until this time they could have been given the benefit of the doubt. After this, the effort was not only to prepare an environment more conducive to the spread of Christianity as they felt, and to share from their background out of Christian charity, but also to prepare the Africans for life in a Europeanized environment by Europeanizing them. With this necessity for African adjustment, inclinations became definite trends, and continued so until the end of the century.

The remainder of the century is interesting, not so much because of new trends, but because of the intensification of some of the older ones. A national pride, present in varying degrees according to individual personalities, was rising to a much higher peak than was found in the earlier days, and found its expression most in the desire for Britain to extend its sphere of influence or administration farther into the interior of Africa, especially into what became at a later time Southern Rhodesia. Interestingly enough, this growth of the Empire concept ran roughly parallel to thought in Britain at the time, and with it the spread of European civilization as a benevolent gift to other peoples. On the other hand, while holding to the desirability of European civilization for the Africans, some of the missionaries exhibited a growing liberality toward facets of African life, a liberality of spirit which the early missionaries certainly had not possessed. Undoubtedly this frame of mind rested, not only on a sense of security as regarded the progress of their own civilization in Africa, but also

on the rise of an anthropological approach made possible by an increased knowledge of African life. That the two existed side by side promised a blending of the best in both, but by the end of the century, such had not occurred, and the Younger Church maintained its foreignness partly because of the foreign civilization with which it was linked by the missionaries who wanted to give the best of what they had known and could not, in the main, conceive of Christianity in any other setting than the one which they had known at home.

B. Western Church Pattern

In dealing with the efforts of the missionaries to establish a new Church, it is necessary to realize that self-support, self-propagation, and self-government are not separate and independent factors, but hang together as a whole under the general title of self-determination in its widest sense. Though this discussion treats each separately, they must be taken as a whole in this section. Self-support includes the policy toward and extent of foreign finance to the young congregations and mission work, the encouragement of local contribution, and the complexity of the mission machinery which was expected to be supported by the people themselves. Self-propagation includes not only the rise of a formal, indigenous ministry, but also the cultivation of individual zeal and evangelization into a sort of mass movement, a factor which has been called "spontaneous expansion." The nature of this action would in its purest form be independent of foreign evangelistic work, but spring rather from the new Younger Church and the action of the Holy Spirit within it. Self-government would include the ultimate basis of

authority resting, not in the hands of foreign missionaries, but in whatever type of leadership the Younger Church might choose--local deacons, a formal ministry, or other methods such as tribal councils. This transfer of authority would also include missionary preparation for the changes and the willingness and policy of the missionaries. All three of these factors, it may be seen, have in common the avoidance, as far as possible, of the equation of Christianity with the foreigners who happen to be its transmitters, but rather the planting of Christianity into indigenous soil with indigenous management as a self-contained, outward looking unity within the larger Christian Church. The trends along these lines will be reviewed and noted in the following sections.

1. Self-Support

In the early years of the Mission, the more far reaching factors of finance, or self-support, had not yet arisen, though immediate expense was of course important. The cost of the missionaries was met by the Society with no thought of their support from Native sources which were as yet mostly unconverted and unharnessed. Except for a limited amount of donated Native labour for purely local development, the financial situation of the earliest period was based completely on personal missionary labour and money from abroad for support. With the absence of young congregations, or only new ones which had not yet developed a paid leadership, funds involved only personal expenses administered by the missionaries themselves.

Starting about 1830, with the rise of young congregations and the

appearance of converts, due mostly to an extension of mission sites, the necessity for financial support was urged upon the new Christians, auxiliary missionary societies were formed, and the funds (produce rather than currency, which was then converted into money by the missionaries) collected and administered solely by the missionaries. The goal was to relieve the financial burden of the home Society as much as possible by displacing foreign funds with local. In the long run, however, this factor was not of as much importance as the psychological effect of support from the outside.[1] This second motive, that of dispelling the foreignness of Christianity in the eyes of many people by making the Younger Church self-sufficient financially, seems not to have been strong at this time, though the necessity was expressed from time to time in somewhat nebulous terms which leave the impression that its true meaning and importance were not fully grasped by the missionaries. As local funds were increasingly used, however, expenses continued to increase rather than decrease as a result of mission expansion and overhead. Very little money was used directly for local purposes, and the Africans could not see their money used in a direct manner, especially by themselves. Indirectly the money was put into the amount coming from Britain, and very little distinction made between funds. The main point, however, was the lack of African control of African funds on purely African congregational expenses and projects. The effect of

[1] A discussion of this problem may be found in Davis, J.Merle, "Principles of Missions in a New Age", I.R.M., 1943 (July), pp. 264-71.

partial or complete dependence on foreign funds and financial administration has been summed up by David Paton who, in speaking specifically about China, speaks also about missions in Africa and elsewhere:

> "The second issue--first in China--is money; and that in two forms: the control over mission and church finances, and the comparative wealth of the missionary by contrast with the poverty of the Chinese church worker. The maxim 'He who pays the piper calls the tune' is not included in the New Testament, but it is widely acted upon by Christians. Even in these last years, the relatively impoverished British missionary (to say nothing of his American colleague handling those world-coveted U.S.dollars) has been relatively a source of wealth: his analogue is the rice Christian, the man who hangs round the missionary for what he can get out of him. Mission funds were until a year or two ago a large part of the budget of any diocese: it was impossible for Chinese not to pay undue attention to the missionary because inevitably they felt that his opinion might be important at home; and in China his opinion acquired for this reason an importance that might be spurious. More serious than all this, however, was the fact that even in advanced dioceses which were perhaps 80 per cent. self-supporting, an unsatisfactory and debilitating equilibrium had been reached. This uneasy equilibrium had disastrous spiritual results: Chinese were aware of their dependence, and resented it (and us), but could not face doing without our help, nor take the risk of wholly ignoring our opinions."[1]

Pondering this same situation, Roland Allen stated the course of action which missionaries should adopt in regard to finance, or self-support:

> "All financial arrangements made for the ordinary life and existence of the Church should be such that the people themselves can and will control and manage their own business independently of any foreign subsidies. The management of all local funds should be entirely in the hands of the local Church which should raise and use their own funds for their own purposes that they may be neither pauperized nor dependent on the dictation of any foreign society."[2]

[1]Paton, Ibid., p.44.
[2]Allen, Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?, p. 195.

From the first period of work, this situation seems to have existed, beginning with the general desire of the African Chiefs for presents in exchange for their favour and permission to reside, and continuing on the with desire on the part of the people for remuneration for listening to the message of the missionaries. To this factor was added, the necessity for small services to retain attention, and later moving into paid help and the general expenses of maintaining the mission beyond the mere living expenses of the missionaries. Until the time of European emigration, despite such efforts as auxiliary missionary societies, the Mission remained very largely dependent on foreign funds for its activities, many of the Africans, Christian and non-Christian, became dependent on the missionaries and mission funds, and control of funds stayed in the hands of the missionaries. The complaint of Paton applied, and the course of action projected by Allen was far indeed from being employed. Practically the only progress was in getting the Africans to donate some financial assistance and labour for projects which benefitted the African population as well as the mission station, and the strategy and thought remained p rimarily in the relief of the financial burden of the home Society as much as possible by displacing foreign funds with local, though more with the motive of lessening the home burden than with combatting the psychological effect of dependence on foreign sources.

In the period, 1840-1860, several important modifications were made. Because of financial straits in the Society in Britain, demands were made by the Directors that complete self-support be initiated

where possible. Many of the Cape Colonial stations were put on this basis, as well as Philippolis, a neighbouring station. Generally, the efforts were successful, bringing some stations, at least, closer to the ideal of self-support with self-management. Still, the motivating factor seems to have been the shortage of foreign money, and the mission programme was not fashioned to fit the resources of the Africans or administration by them. In some outstations this factor was achieved, though it seemed to operate in an inverted ratio to the amount of missionary control present. With this period ended the possibility of initiating complete self-support under a completely Native environment. Later efforts had to be made in an area dominated by European standards, which further burdened the financial side of the Younger Church and made a realistic adaptation of expense more difficult.

By the decade, 1860-1870, the standard of living had risen considerably, but the maintenance of it required more money than the environment could provide. Thus, in a purely secular point of view, great strain was put upon the resources of the Africans to rise to a standard anywhere comparable to their European neighbours or to that aimed at by the missionaries. Also, the difficulty of merely obtaining a living in the more southern areas made the maintenance of Church organization impossible, and made the Western-patterned Church dependent on outside sources once again. In an effort to bolster the level desired, the missionaries tried to initiate larger irrigation schemes, but failed because of the resources needed. Another approach seems not to have been made to fit the goals and concepts to the actual situation.

With progress in particulars but a considerable lag in underlying

principles, the century moved on, with little realization that the financial phase of mission withdrawal entailed more than merely raising enough money locally to pay for the programme introduced by the missionaries. By 1885, while such efforts as agricultural development for support of the Institution and separate accounts for African workers did appear, the actual collection and control of funds, both foreign and local, remained solely a function of the missionaries' work, with very little direct local application of local funds by the congregations except in some outstations. Under this system, it is obvious that the motive for giving was seriously damaged, the people received little practice in monetary management, and the impression that the Natives were not to be trusted with their own finances allowed to grow and sow seeds of discord. While the emphasis was put on self-support resting on the potentiality of increased financial strength, the basic roots of trust and practice in financial administration remained almost entirely dormant.

For the most part, the general principles found in the preceding periods were maintained to the end of the century, though sharpened in several instances. On the larger stations, school fees were charged, especially for the teaching of English. While this helped to make the schools at least partially self-supporting, it placed advantages with those able to pay, set up divisions among educated and uneducated Africans, and kept the actual practice of self-government still out of the hands of the people themselves, for this type of self-support was administered by the missionaries. For the payment of African workers,

a central fund was established, to which all funds were paid and drawn out as need required. Concerning the payment of a Native ministry, the following complaint must be taken into consideration, to see if its point is applicable.

> "This form of organization (Mission Society) is natural to men with our character and experience: it is not in any sense a universal mode of expression. The erection of buildings, the management of property and the creation of an army of professional preachers is to us at this moment of the world's history the natural and obvious method of carrying on our work. This kind of organization suits our capacities, appeals to our sense of fitness, satisfies our eyes. But an elaborate material machinery for the propagation of ideas seems to most of those to whom we go absured. You do not want buildings and machinery to propagate ideas or a faith: you want ideas and a faith. Organization and buildings ought to follow and spring out of the working of the ideas and the faith. Our organization seems to put the wrong things first. We collect money and pay men to preach and teahh. Outside our circle nearly all men think that a very strange thing. All knowledge, above all, religious knowledge, is a divine gift and to connect it with money is a sort of simony. A paid preacher is suspected as a preacher paid to teach what he is told to teach by those who pay him; not the inspired possessor of a divine gift."[1]

The problem of a Native ministry is discussed elsewhere, but the financial appect of it rightly falls in this section. Much to the credit of the missionaries, the emphasis was placed, not on salary, but on the desire of the African to teach, preach, or work in other ways for the spread and deepening of Christian ideas and practices. Only toward the end of the century were definite financial practices established, after a long period of work resting on considerable voluntary labour. This statement must be tempered, however, by the fact that some teachers and

[1]Allen, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church, p. 155.

preachers had been paid from foreign sources for many years, and some critics would be partially justified in stating that the emphasis would have been on payment if funds had not been so tight. Be that as it may, many of the missionaries voiced definitely the opinion that voluntary work was the test of sincerity, and payment should be used only to free a man from financial pressures so that he could devote his full time to the work. From this view grew the work toward a standardized wage, drawn from local contributions, though administered by the missionaries. This problem of missionary administration was not as strong in the north, where a denser population and stronger tribal leadership remained. Most local funds were used directly, largely because the Chiefs were strong enough to direct the use of funds, with the help of the local missionaries. Another notable exception was the Lake Ngami Mission, supported by one of the northern groups more or less independent of the controlling Committee of missionaries. In comparing the northern and southern areas, the difference may be attributed partly to the earlier founding of the southern stations by men of an earlier school of thought and the later attitude of the northern missionaries, and also to the relative wealth of the two areas, the northern having stronger tribal groups and better physical environment. The general overall conclusions, however, are that while the missionaries worked hard toward self-support, they considered the weakness of the home finances, and the alleviation of such a drain by local contributions, more than they did the psychological effects of dependency, and

also that the initiative and administration rested primarily with them, and not with the Africans, thus creating a false goal of achievement and a false method of reaching it.[1]

2. Self-Propagation

The second phase of self-determination, that of self-propagation, of necessity includes not only the development of a professional Native agency, whether teacher or preacher, but also the development of an evangelical zeal on the part of the average Christian layman which expresses itself in organizational responsibility and in the outward expansion of the Faith. The extent to which these many facets were developed is the subject of the following summary and analysis.

During the first period, 1815-1830, no appreciable effort was made toward a formal Native agency, due to the pioneer characteristic of the work. A few paid secular helpers, mostly of a personal nature, were used, but the lack of large pastoral duties and educational development, had not necessitated an expansion of staff to any considerable extent either in preachers or teachers. Some local, voluntary church officers did exist, but they were very much under the influence of the missionaries and could not in any sense of the word be considered the forerunners of an independent, indigenous agency so long as they remained virtually agents of the missionaries and not of the people.

With the appearance of young congregations, earlier at Griqua Town than at Kuruman and the north, individual instruction and employment

[1]Since this time, much thought has been given to the problem of self-support, examples of which are Wasson, Alfred W., "The Support of Younger Churches", I.R.M., 1943 (April), pp. 129-134, and McLeish, Alexander, "Complexities of Self-Support", I.R.M., 1943 (April), pp. 135-140.

of Native helpers by the local missionaries began. Seemingly, no particularly planned strategy concerning a Native agency had formed as yet, but grew up in a rather haphazard manner. There was no overall programme of organization. While the growth of an agency seemed spontaneous to fit the changing situations, the emphasis was primarily on local schoolteachers, with little effort to develop a valid ministry, the missionaries apparently feeling that education in a more formal way was needed for a ministy and/or that Native leaders were as yet ready only to teach and not preach. The logical goal of a ministry, ordination, was still very much in the future.

With the period, 1840-1860, the first stage of non-Europeanized environment ended, and the beginning of an increasingly Europeanized territory appeared, due to an expansion from the south in the form of European emigrants. In the normal growth of the Mission, there was an increase of outstations. This was in turn accelerated by a forced growth, due to the dispersal of the people by desiccating influences. In the south, especially, was the number of Native workers increased, primarily along voluntary lines, as local Christian leaders. Again, the work was primarily in teaching, with little effort to develop a formal ministry with defined ministerial functions. A spontaneous agency did come to the fore, though, with a lessening of missionary control beyond the actual mission centres. Thus, while the development of pastors was slowed, teachers increased and lay activity and responsibility became more intensive, arising from the local soil of the social system. As yet, the following criticism was for the most part without

application to this situation, for voluntary work stayed within its own context and the missionaries were wise enough not to act as a clearing house, assigning helpers to groups not their own. Toward the end of the century, it did become more applicable.

> "In England, where the whole population moves from place to place with extreme ease and readiness, the evil is not so apparent; but in a country where generation after generation lives in the ancestral village, the link between the local Church and its ministers is of great importance, and the importation of a stranger to act as minister to people whom he does not know intimately, and who do not know him and his whole family intimately, is a serious evil."[1]

The decade 1860-1870 saw several changes regarding a Native agency. The earlier policy of selecting and training workers according to the need of the particular districts by the individual missionaries changed. The small clusters of workers around the local missionaries were becoming a widespread group under the direction of the Committee, through the local missionaries. Clearer distinctions concerning functions were also arising, with teachers, evangelists, and pastors becoming more clearly defined. Education of workers, which had originally been almost entirely in the hands of the local missionaries was coming to be taken over by the proposed Institution, though again the Institution was not sufficiently developed as yet to show clear trends, nor was the institutional training specialized according to function--it merely was for the training of an agency. The importance of this period lay in its projected

[1]Allen, Op.Cit., p. 178.

plans and possibilities for the future, in overall organization under the Committee, in its definitions of types of workers, and in education. The question of a Western type ministry had not shown itself clearly, for the possibilities had not shown themselves. Interestingly enough, the need for both teachers and preachers seemed of equal importance in the minds of the missionaries, showing that the goal was the general uplift of the people as well as the ability to read the Scriptures, which in turn depended heavily on education.

With the coming of a more stable Government under British administration about the period 1870-1885, it is not surprising to see that the previous hopes and goals for the education of a Native ministry moved forward. While importance continued to be put on teachers and preachers, a growing distinction developed between the two, with separate curricula. In addition, the ministry itself became differentiated between local pastors and less localized evangelists, each having its own bookkeeping account. Though achievements in producing a ministry which met Western standards were far from satisfactory, the effort had been made, and the curriculum showed just how much like the white ministers they were expected eventually to be. This period was also particularly interesting as regards the place of an African ministry in the Younger Church, and the hesitancy of the Committee to make the leap of faith which would give to the Africans final authority and leadership through the exercise of priestly as well as prophetical functions--a lack which hampered the development of the Church and contributed to

psychological discontent so prevalent in the Bantu sects movement of the time.[1] Regardless of long-range prudence, fuller recognition and responsibility were at stake, and the lack of action was certain to have an effect far beyond the scope of this study. The Lake Ngami mission and the activities at Shoshong were exceptions, but disapproved by the majority of missionaries. As regards the role played by laymen, the northern stations showed encouraging signs, with Chiefs taking an active part in the activities of the congregations, though strongly under the influence of the missionaries. In some ways, then, the situation had improved, but the chance of granting independence had been passed for the time being.

For the remainder of the century, the difficulties encountered by the missionaries in trying to form a Native ministry along the Western pattern in previous periods remained the same, accentuated in some instances. In particular, the standard of training met with missionary dissatisfaction, especially that of teachers. Tighter control by the Committee of pastors and evangelists reflected a certain degree of unrest, resulting no doubt from the lack of trust and free expression. Standardized pay, issuing from the Committee, further emphasized this control, and illustrated the Western concept of a paid professional ministry which had previously been for the most part absent in the use of voluntary workers. Probably enough time had elapsed between an unpaid and a paid agency to allow Native concepts to adjust to the more

[1] A good survey of this phenomenom may be found in Sundkler, Bengt G. M., Bantu Prophets in South Africa, Lutterworth Press, 1948.

Western ideas about pay for the spread of Christianity, at least to some extent, and the assigning of workers to particular posts by the Committee had only partially bad results, for many of the pastors returned to their own home areas. By no means were the paths followed by the missionaries all bad, but in many cases harm was done. The ultimate control exercised by the Committee was damaging in so far as it limited lay initiative and the development of independence and self-determination in the growing clergy and local church officers--a considerably retarding factor as long as Western concepts produced a foreignness about the emerging Church.

3. Self-Government

The third factor in self-determination is that of actual self-government. By inference, it includes not only the buildup of a substantial Native ministry in its wider sense, financial independence, and the lessening of control by the missionaries, but also the means by which the missionaries approached the problem of evangelizing, developing congregations, and guiding the Younger Church in its ideas and forms. In no small sense, such approach depended on the attitude held by the missionaries as to the superiority of the home Church pattern and of European civilization in general, for they used these as criteria in judging their work. Having already seen such attitudes, it remains only to see the extent to which they maintained control and their reasons for doing so.

Little of ecclesiastical domination may be noted in the first period, due to the nature of the work and the lack of definite congre-

gational organization. However, the personal influence of the missionaries was in some cases quite strong, so that their opinions swayed the decisions of many Africans, thus, in some ways making the building of congregations easier and in other ways promising some delay in the active ecclesiastical self-government necessary for a stable Church. More specifically, stationary semi-permanent stations were established, and a pattern set down for their government by the work of the missionaries themselves. This prolonged residence meant that missionaries would be present for many years, and because of their presuppositions concerning the home Church and civilization, would exercise control which would delay and damage self-government.

> "When the early missionaries built the first houses in those compounds, they were taking a step which must have seemed of the simplest and most commonplace character. Yet in building these houses they fixed the character and the limits of mission work in that country for a century, perhaps for two or three centuries. Those houses represented a spirit, they revealed the relationship which was to be between the missionary and the people. They argued the immobility of the Christian force; they prophesied that European missionaries would still be there a hundred years later, calling themselves missionaries still, ministering to the third and fourth generations of Christians. They proclaimed that the missionaries would not be men wholly given to the preaching of a religion alone, but that they would consider the introduction of their civilization a large part of their work, and new converts would accept a new civilization as part of their new religions The policy of the missionary society, the history of the Church, would be controlled more by the existence of that house than by anything that happened in the native village."[1]

[1]Allen, Op. Cit., p. 104.

Griqua Town, the first station, was established as a Native town through the persuasion of the Africans by the missionaries to settle down. It was not a case of missionaries coming to reside at an already established African town; rather, the missionaries settled when the people did. Within a short time, the missionaries ruled the town through their influence on the Chief, and it was in reality a mission station with Africans living in it. The gentle approach of the missionaries in settling at Kuruman (or Lattakoo as it was originally called) illustrates the seriousness of the situation at Griqua Town, but within a short time, Kuruman also became in reality a mission station with African residents. Not much was evident as yet of the missionaries' actual relationship with the new congregations, as they had not developed sufficiently. As time went on to the time of European emigration, the obvious superiority of knowledge and universal contact placed the missionaries in a strong advisory position, which led in turn to a lack of leadership on the part of Africans in many parts, especially at the centres. Besides being leaders in politics, they were the recognized authorities in moral, social relationships, and the interpretation of Christianity. That they transferred much of Western thought and moral code is shown in other sections, but in the course of their work, they set the standards and exercised church discipline. In their eagerness to shortcut the long process of Gospel leaven in guiding people to a fuller understanding of personal and social growth, they tried to establish life according to an already achieved level, that of their own

background, thereby planting a Church and civilization which had no roots and was dependent on the guidance of missionaries who were acquainted with the system. In such a situation, the missionaries naturally held the superior position, to the detriment of Native self-government and determination.

In the period 1840-1860, a further factor was added to those of the earlier times. With the presence of Government and a European population, the missionaries came increasingly to be the mediators between Native and European interests and concepts. In doing this, they filled a vital need, but at the same time they assumed a leadership which added further to the damage to Native leadership. For the most part, however, the strongest control rested with the interpretation of Christianity, the transition of Native towns into stations with resident Africans, the control of finances, and the appointment of helpers, not co-workers. It would seem that the policy of gradually withdrawing from the responsibility as Natives met the level of personal and social development in keeping with the home environment of the Mother Church placed an unnatural difficulty on the Natives and required, not only the develop ment of civilization, as well as a Western Church, but Native leadership within a Western pattern. Many critics would say that the better course would have been the development of self-government within the existing social framework. Education, morals, clothing, and general development of civilization, as well as a Western patterned Church seem to have had as much influence as the skill of leadership within a situation familiar to the people. Under

these conditions, the missionaries were hesitant to turn loose of the control until the requirements had been met, and stayed on for many years.

The decade 1860-1870 witnessed some interesting changes in the amount of missionary control. In the south, the dispersion of the people, due mostly to desiccation, led to a loosening of control and the development of local initiative and congregational administrative experience. The missionary, seeing the good effect of this development, encouraged it, and because of the enlargement of his parish beyond the confines of the station, became more of an itinerating supervisor, thus putting responsibility for local supervision and growth more on the shoulders of the rising leadership. In the north, among the more newly contacted tribes, the strength of the Chiefs lessened the problem, and the missionaries acted more as advisors and elder Christian brothers. While the changes were fairly gradual and in an elementary stage at this time, the bases were being laid which would become more evident in the later periods. While the development of an active laity was important, still the budding Church lacked an ordained ministry which, with the administration of the Sacraments, would give it final authority and control.

Under the British administration which, so far as this study is concerned, lasted until the end of the century, Native reaction and the disturbing conflicts between the ways of life of the Africans and Europeans brought the outbreak of Bantu religious sects, a factor which influenced the Church life of this area, both directly and indirectly.

Among other reasons, one of the most important factors and desires of the Affricans was that of self-government and a larger hand in the planning and executing of Church activities and matters which many felt could be achieved better in an African Church than in a Mission one. When stirrings among the African Christian leaders were noted, control was increased by the missionaries in almost every field of the Christian Church in Africa. Though some efforts were made to hand over responsibility and control to the people, these efforts were for the most part discouraged, for the position was still held that the Africans were not ready, not only in the experience of Church government, but personally in not having achieved the level of civilization considered as necessary by the missionaries. In the same sense, the missionaries were not satisfied with the Church, for it too had not yet measured up to a Western one in organization, thought, finance, or general civilization. For that reason, missionaries remained, trying to remove gradually but always finding it difficult to do so because their work never seemed to end, and after more than eighty years, the transformation from Mission to Church had not been completed.

APPENDIX

A. Survey of tribal life and customs, taken from selected portions of Schapera, I., Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa, pp. 3-36.[1]

"At the time when they first met with the Europeans, the Bantu were divided into a very large number of small, separate tribes. Their cultural institutions were on the whole fundamentally the same.

The South-Central tribes occupy the greater portion of the high plateau north of the Orange River and to the west and north of the Drakensbergen. The Sotho cluster is far more extensive. It is made up of three distinct branches: Tswana or Western Sotho, comprising the BaRolong, BaThlaping, BaHuruthse, BaKwena, Ba-Mangwato, BaNgwaketse, and numerous other tribes of Orange Free State, Bechuanaland, and Western Transvaal.

Every tribe had its own distinctive name, occupied its own territory, and lived independently under its own chief. Membership of a tribe was determined primarily by allegiance to the chief rather than by birth. It was through their allegiance to the same chief that the members of a tribe were conscious of their unity, and the chieftainship in consequence was an institution of paramount importance in the whole political life of the people. Usually as a chief gained in wealth, power, and prestige, his tribe would be enlarged by the accession of refugees from other chiefs. On the other hand, the unpopularity of any chief would gradually lessen the number of his adherents and reduce his tribe to insignificance. Internal dissensions would lead to schisms out of which were born many new tribes, while at the same time tribes already in existence would in this way suffer dismemberment. Then again conquest by war would lead to the incorporation of several whole tribes under the rule of one chief, or to the destruction and ultimate disappearance of many others.

Within the tribe the outstanding social unity was the family or household, a group consisting typically of a man with his wife or wives and dependent children, together with any other relatives or unrelated dependents who might be attached to him. In the South-Central tribes the people tended to collect together in villages embracing a number of different household groups. In Bechuanaland

[1] For further information of an anthropological nature about these people, see Smith, E.W., The Religion of Lower Races, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923, Schwartz, E.H.L., The Kalahari and Its Native Races, London: H.F. and G. Witherby, Willoughby, W.C., Nature Worship and Taboo, Hartford, Conn.: The Hartford Seminary Press, 1932, and Willoughby, W.C., The Soul of the Bantu, London: S.C.M. Press, 1928, as well as the bibliographies accompanying these books.

the members of each tribe lived for the most part in one large central town and several much smaller outlying villages. The central towns, where the chief of the tribe had his headquarters, were often of considerable size, their population running into several thousands. Owint to this mode of settlement, which was determined largely by the scarcity of surface water and the consequent necessity of congregating together at suitable spots, the cultivated lands of each town were generally some distance away, extending as broad belts for many miles across country, while the cattle had to be kept at special grazing posts often a day's journey or more away by foot.

Whatever the form of local settlement, each household group was always clearly marked off from the rest. Among the BeTswana, e.g., the family huts were usually located irregularly within a low, rectangular courtyard while the cattle-pen, owing to the peculiar conditions of local settlement, was always separately built many miles away. The huts of the South-Eastern tribes were typically of beehive shape, made of wattle and daub, while among the South-Central tribes they had circular walls of earth surmounted by a conical roof of poles covered with thatch.

The number of huts in any household depended primarily upon the number of wives. All the Bantu permitted polygamy, although of course by no means every man would have more than one wife. As a rule only the more wealthy and influential men were polygamists, and the number of wives a man married was often an index of his social status and importance. The larger a man's household was, and consequently the greater the number of his adherents, the more influential was his position. A man's first wife was generally selected for him by his parents, who carried through all the elaborate and highly-formalized marriage negotiations on his behalf; but he was free to choose any subsequent wives for himself.

Marriage was legalized by the transfer to the wife's people of boxadi, a material consideration generally taking the form of cattle or, in exceptional instances, as among the older BaThonga, of some such object as iron hoes. The real meaning of this transfer has been frequently discussed and generally misunderstood. By some it has been regarded as a purchase and sale of the woman, by others as nothing more than a grateful present given to her father by the husband. A more widespread, and not entirely inaccurate, opinion is that it was a form of compensation to the girl's family for the loss of a useful member. Its primary function, however, seems to have been to legitimize the marriage and its resultant offspring.

The family, in addition to its biological function of producing and rearing children, provided for their education in their early years. It was also the centre of the ceremonies connected with

birth, marriage, death, and the worship of ancestral spirits; and it was to a considerable extent a self-sufficient unit for the production and consumption of food. Among members of the same family there was a strong feeling of solidarity and interdependence. They helped one another in all domestic arrangements and difficulties, freely shared their belongings, and consulted together in matters of importance. The head of the household occupied a position of great dignity. He kept order and maintained discipline within the limits of his household, and in this direction exercised considerable authority. All the property of the household was under his control, and none of the other inmates could alienate any of it without his consent.

For their subsistance the Bantu depended mainly upon animal husbandry and horticulture. They kept cattle and goats, which supplied them with much of their food in the form of milk, drunk both fresh and sour, and with the skins for some of their industries. In addition, crops were cultivated, chiefly of Kafir corn and maize, supplemented to a varying extent by millet, pumpkins, melons, sweet cane, and different kinds of peas and beans; while numerous species of wild fruits and berries were eaten in season.

The subsistance of the people was intimately bound up with their system of land tenure. All the land occupied by the tribe was vested in the chief, and administered by him as the head and representative of the tribe. He parcelled it out in large blocks to his subordinate chieftains or headmen, who in turn granted the heads of the households under their jurisdiction land to cultivate and upon which to erect their dwelling-enclosures. Every family was legally entitled to such lands. Once they were granted to him, he possessed them undisturbed so long as he continued to live at the spot and his gardens were cultivated; and on his death they were normally inherited by his children. Only in case of revolt against the authority of the chief could they be confiscated. Land was never bought or sold, although it could be given away freely or lent for an indefinite or specified period by its holder. Boundary rights were respected, and in case of infringement the culprit was punished. If plots became less fertile through overcropping they were left lying fallow, additional land to cultivate being obtained from someone else or by application to the headman or chief. But once they were finally abandoned, they reverted to the tribe as a whole and could be re-allotted subsequently to any man needing them.

Boys and girls on attaining the age of puberty were ceremonially initiated into the ranks of adults, and thereby to some extent released from the immediate tutelage of their family and drawn into the wider spheres of tribal life. These initiation ceremonies were among the most important ritual occasions in the life of the old Bantu. In most of the tribes the boys were initiated in groups

kept secluded in a special "lodge" away from the settlements for three months or so. The details of the ceremony were kept a profound secret from all non-initiates, and violation of the secrecy was punishable by death. At the "lodge" the boys were first circumcised in order of tribal precedence, and then systematically taught a number of secret formulae and songs, their tribal laws and beliefs, and the necessity of implicit obedience to their elders. They were also given a good deal of instruction, often couched in very obscene terms, in the current physiological concepts relating to the dominant feature of sex. They were moreover subjected to starvation and blows, discomfort and actual torture, and made to participate in strenuous hunting expeditions, all with the object of hardening them; and boys notorious for their unruly behaviour were here singled out for treatment with special severity. During the period of their seclusion the initiates wore peculiar dresses and painted their bodies white with lime and ashes, in order to be disguised as much as possible. They were strictly forbidden to speak to non-initiates.

The girls were initiated separately from the boys. In the Nguni tribes they underwent the rites individually, generally when they first menstruated; but in the Sotho tribes they were initiated in groups soon after the corresponding ceremonies for boys had been held. The rites through which they passed varied considerably from one tribe to another, but as a rule included formal instruction in matters concerning womanhood, domestic and agricultural activities, and behaviour towards men. They were often accompanied by songs and dances, some of an obscene nature, and the initiates were subjected to severe punishments and other hardships, with occasionally some form of physical operation as well. Neither boys nor girls were permitted to marry until they had been initiated.

The chief played a very prominent part in native life. He was the head of the government and regulated the affairs of the tribe; he was the chief priest of his people and often the leader in war; he administered and laid down the law; he was the representative and spokesman of his tribe to the outside world; and generally speaking he had to watch over the interests of his subjects and keep himself informed of all that was happening. His subjects had to obey him in all matters affecting the public welfare and also in minor matters of more personal interest; and revolt against his authority was one of the major crimes in Bantu society, punished as a rule by death and confiscation of the culprit's property.

In administering the affairs of the tribe the chief was assisted by several grades of councils. Thus among the BaTswana he had, in the first place, a small privy council of selected relatives and trusted advisers, with whom he discussed in secret all matters of importance and decided with them a plan of action before approach-

ing the tribe as a whole. The other tribes, allowing for the differences in details of social organization, had on the whole a somewhat similar political system. In few of them was the chief ever absolute ruler and autocratic despot. His intimate councillors played a considerable part in criticizing and restraining his activities, while in the last resort he was curtailed by the wishes of his tribe as a whole. Amongst the BeTswana, at least, the chief was himself not above the law, and if he transgressed any point of it he might be brought before the appropriate court, tried, and punished.

The arrangements for all tribal religious and magical ceremonies were also in the hands of the chief or carried out by his authority. One of the most important of these ceremonies was the formal partaking of the first-fruits. The ceremonial eating of the first-fruits was done by the chief himself, but in the other public rites, such as rain-making, the annual renewal of the town charms in the Sotho tribes, and the agricultural magic, he was generally assisted by his tribal magicians. Rain-making was everywhere held to be an attribute of the chieftainship. In a country so scantily watered and so subject to periodic droughts as in South Africa, rain is of the utmost importance to a people dependent for their livelihood solely upon the yield of their gardens and the condition of their livestock; and a chief's whole reputation was therefore determined by the degree of success with which he could provide this most essential factor to the economic well-being and prosperity of his peop le.

There was another important aspect to the connection of the chief with the ritual life of his people. Every family was held to be under the direct guidance of its ancestors, and ancestor worship was perhaps the most conspicuous element in Bantu religion. Just as the chief and his family guided their fortunes on earth, so his ancestors were held to afford supernatural protection to the whole people of their living descendant. Only the chief, however, could approach his ancestors directly on behalf of the tribe, so that in this way religion provided a powerful sanction for the chieftainship. The importance of this factor cannot be sufficiently emphasized. The chief was not merely the ruler of his people, he was also their principal magician and their high priest, the link between them and the spirits which governed their welfare."

B. Mackenzie to Mullens, 27 January 1868.

"Altho' our congregations were considerably increased, the great body of the people still refused or neglected to come to church. How were they to be reached? I bethought of a method by which they might be brought for once in their lives to hear for themselves the message of the Gospel. Macheng had assisted me in cut-

ting wood and grass for the church: it was but right to thank him for so doing. Of course I had thanked him already, but then I had done so privately. Now I should express my gratitude in presence of all his head men, and attest my sincerity by slaughtering an ox for the entertainment of himself and people. Having consulted an 'authority' on such matters and found that this step would be entirely orthodox and agreeable, I gave the invitation to Macheng 'to meet me with his people' in the new church on Tuesday the 7th inst., to see the house which they had assisted me to build, to hear why it was built, and to partake of the ox with which I thanked them for their assistance.

Early on Tuesday morning the people began to assemble at the Church. Each little town came headed by its chief. Heathen men with hoary heads, toothless, and tottering with old age, came, resting on their sticks. Full-grown men, the haughty, the cunning, the fierce, came with the younger in years, of brighter eyes, and more hopeful mien. As to their clothing, the heathen dress admits of little variety. But many appeared dressed partly or wholly in European attire, and here there was variety enough. We had the usual members of the congregation, most of them neatly dressed. But sticklers for the 'proprieties' would have been shocked to see a man roving in the crowd who considered himself well dressed, altho' wearing a shirt only; another with trousers only; a third with a black 'swallow tail' closely buttoned to the chin--the only piece of European clothing which the man wore; another with a soldier's red coat, overshadowed by an immense wide-awake hat, the rest of the dress being articles of heathen wear, etc.

The church doors were thrown open, and many strange remarks were made with reference to the building. One man said 'what a splendid place to drink beer in'; another, 'what a capital pen for sheep and goats'; and a third declared that with a few people inside, they could defy the Matebele nation.

As soon as Macheng made his appearance, the people assembled in the church until it was completely filled, and then crowded round the doors and windows. I held no regular service; for some would have said I got them to be present at it under false pretenses. It would not be worth while to particularise the address which I delivered on this occasion. It was composed of thoughts which had been gathering in my mind for years, but which I never had an opportunity to deliver before such an audience. It is enough to say that the attention of the people was thoroughly arrested during the whole of the time I was speaking. It would seem that this attention was real, for I am told that for days this speech was the subject of remark in the Kotla, the majority declaring that 'the words' were unanswerable. A few inveterate heathen however said 'they could see nothing in the words. They thought they had been called to church to assist in praying for

rain, and not to listen to such strange doctrines.'

Having concluded my part of the engagements of the day by a short prayer, I called upon Macheng to speak if he desired to do so. He declined to speak, so we at once adjourned to the vicinity of our kitchen, where Mrs. Mackenzie and the servants had had a busy time of it cooking the viands. The pots, dishes, etc. I showed to Macheng, and requested him to divide the contents. A considerable quantity of sour milk and a few camp kettles of tea completed the bill of fare for this Bechuana soiree. Tables, chairs, knives and forks, vegetables we were content to regard as sup erfluities, after thoughts. The first and the main thought was the beef, and to that attention was given. I had been told by one who did not wish to give a stingy entertainment that one ox would not be enough, but my 'authority' said otherwise. The chief himself killed only one ox at a time--it would be over-lavish in me to kill more. My authority was right. Although no miracle was performed everyone seemed to get something--everyone was pleased. As the feast proceeded, it was announced to Macheng that a certain head man had been overlooked. What was to be done? The meat was gone--the sour milk had disappeared; but, happy thought! the tea remained. Handing the man a large quantity of tea, the chief said to him, 'Drink--for there is no longer ought to eat. The tea was cooked at the same fire as the meat--it is therefore quite the same thing--drink! for tea is your part of the feast.' The man quietly sat down with his camp kettle of tea and drank it all. After the people had departed, Macheng, Khama, and Khamane sat down at our table to a part of the same ox this time however eaten with knife and fork. I have reason to believe that the best impression was produced on the people's minds by the doings of this day. Even in the case of those who still absent themselves from church, many of them admit that they are wrong--heathenism does not carry the high head which it was wont to do.

But of course such a step as has been described would be comparatively without result, if not followed up. In order to reach some of the backward ones, I resolved to hold the afternoon service in the Kotla, and I began a course of district evangelization, to be carried on every Wednesday. At present therefore on Sunday morning we worship with those who are accustomed to attend church, with a goodly sprinkling of heathen; in the afternoon, we have added to our morning congregation, the chief and perhaps a hundred who hear the Gospel when it comes to them, but who do not go to church; on Wednesdays I have an audience of between two and three hundred, very few of whom come to church."

C. Bechuanaland District Committee to Sir Bartle Frere, 25 January 1879.

"Proceeding upon the supposition that the country comes under the English Government, we would respectfully suggest:

(1) That, except in special cases, such as chiefs or men who have made themselves obnoxious, that natives who have been in occupation of an irrigable garden, or small farm, be placed in similar circumstances, under English Government.

(2) We do not recommend that title-deeds to farms be given to Bechuanas. The land has hitherto belonged to the tribes as such, and has been unsalable. We would propose that a similar law obtain; that is, that natives who have irrigable gardens, or small farms, should have a lease of them, under the English Government, for a certain number of years, say ten; and that under this lease they pay an annual rental to Government as landlords. That is to be understood that there shall be no eviction at the end of the lease, bf the tenant has conducted himself well, and has cultivated his ground in an industrious manner; but that if the opposite has been the case, if the farm has been neglected, or if criminal charges have been preferred against the occupants, that the officer of Government, appointed to investigate such questions, have the power to refuse a renewal of the lease, should he, on the whole, decide to do so.

(3)If the tribes in the south are allowed to remain in virtual possession of their land, under the English Government, complications will be less likely in the interior. The people will know that private property will be respected, and as for the waning of the power of their chiefs, they will grow accustomed to that also provided a good position is secured them as respectable subjects of the Queen.

(4) It is one thing to get men accustomed to treat all natives as 'niggers' or 'black fellows', with indiscriminant contempt and carelessness, it is quite another thing to get a magistrate who would be filled with the idea that as a servant of the Queen he was bound to treat all her subjects with even handed justice, and to show courtesy to all.

(5) Let these natives have their farms to live on, and cultivate; let them have their missionaries, or ministers to administer among them the ordinances of the Gospel; let them have a Magistrate who would take an interest in the deserving people in his district, who would decide honestly and fairly between man and man. To do this would be to settle the 'native question' throughout all Bechuanaland.

(6) The Committee would strongly recommend that at present and while the natives of this territory know solittle of English, all laws bearing upon natives should be translated into the Sechuana and Dutch languages, also printed and circulated among the people. It is not to be expected that the people will settle down without alarm under laws so different from their own. By and by the necessity for these translations would disappear, as the Government had to do with people who had been trained at schools where English was taught."

D. Letter of Sir Bartle Frere to Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, 13 June 1879.

"But there are two things which your missionaries have not attempted and which I have no wish to see them attempt. In the first place, they have not interfered in politics, nor in any public matter more than they can help. As a consequence, they have not directly counteracted the natural disintegrating effect which Christianity and Civilization always exert on the despotic conditions of savage life, whether of the family, or of the body politic. The ancient authority of the Chief, whether great or small, as far as it rested on force or terror, has been imperceptibly but gradually and surely lessened. But their most proper abstention from political or merely worldly teaching precluded them from providing, directly, any substitute for the inevitable dissolution of the old ties which kept savage society and savage political organisation together. The political fabric of barbarism is in fact breaking up. Savage despotism is perishing of a kind of atrophy. But another thing your missionaries have abstained from attempting has been any systematic effort to de-nationalise their converts. The missionaries have tried to make their converts Christian Baralongs, Batlapins and Bechuanas, and not to transform them into sable imitations of white men. In this abstention, I need not say, they have my entire sympathy. Hence two consequences resulted. First, when the tribal system broke down there was nothing to take its place; and therefore, secondly, the people, as a mass, remained open to such political influences and influences and sympathies as more native races, in common with the rest of mankind. The latter result was as inevitable as the former, and for it the missionaries are in no wise to blame. The aspirations of most classes of natives, except real Christian converts, were directed to a resumption, by the native races, of their former position, as exclusive lords of the soil. When Colonel Warren and Colonel Lanyon moved out to suppress the rebellion, and to follow the rebels across into Bechuanaland, they found that, while the Christian converts and those trusted by the missionaries were actively in favour of the British Government, and of the maintaining of law and order, the classes unaffected by Christianity were either actively hostile or so paralysed and disorganised as to be incapable of acting for themselves and hence they frequently got mixed up with, and were carried away by a few of the bolder and more rebellious spirits. I cannot see how it will be possible to avoid anarchy and confusion unless the Governments of Griqualand West and the Transvaal are authorised to take a leading and preponderating part in directing the local authorities how to establish and maintain some form of settled regular Government."

E. Letter of Hepburn to Whitehouse, 7 June 1880.

"We have fallen far short of our own ideals as a nation in our dealings with these tribes in the past. The people will soon come under our sway if they find that it is to be their temporal advantage to

submit, and they are quick to learn what is to their advantage and what is not. They are eager to become possessed of all our great inheritance of civilisation as they see it embodied in those signs of wealth--food, clothing, luxuries of life, guns, saddles and bridles, horses, wagons, ploughs, spans of trained oxen, well built houses, rich and cultivated gardens, artificial irrigation, the means of communication by reading and writing, stable laws, and above all freedom to go where we please over the whole wide world. Let us secure to the native his small plot of land, his cattle, sheep and goats, and whatever else by his industyy he can make his own, and we shall soon see the power of the chiefs wane and die. In the past they have had no encouragement to work, for all they possessed was not their own but the chief's. Heathen chiefs dread the change, Christian chiefs who have the welfare of their people at heart will welcome it where it is not thrust upon them harshly and suddenly. It is quite possible to conquer Africa by a bloodless warfare. Let commerce, civilization, and just government go hand in hand upon the basis of a common Christian life and heathenism will fall and crumble like old ruins fall and crumble into dust before the teeth of time. It is to be met in exactly the same way in which the heathenism of our own large towns is to be met--not by war and bloodshed, by imprisonment and confiscation, but by truth and lovingkindness, by better homes, better clothing and honourable employment honestly paid for in cash, by encouragement and by freedom, and the firm strong hand of law justly administered--without favour and without fear."

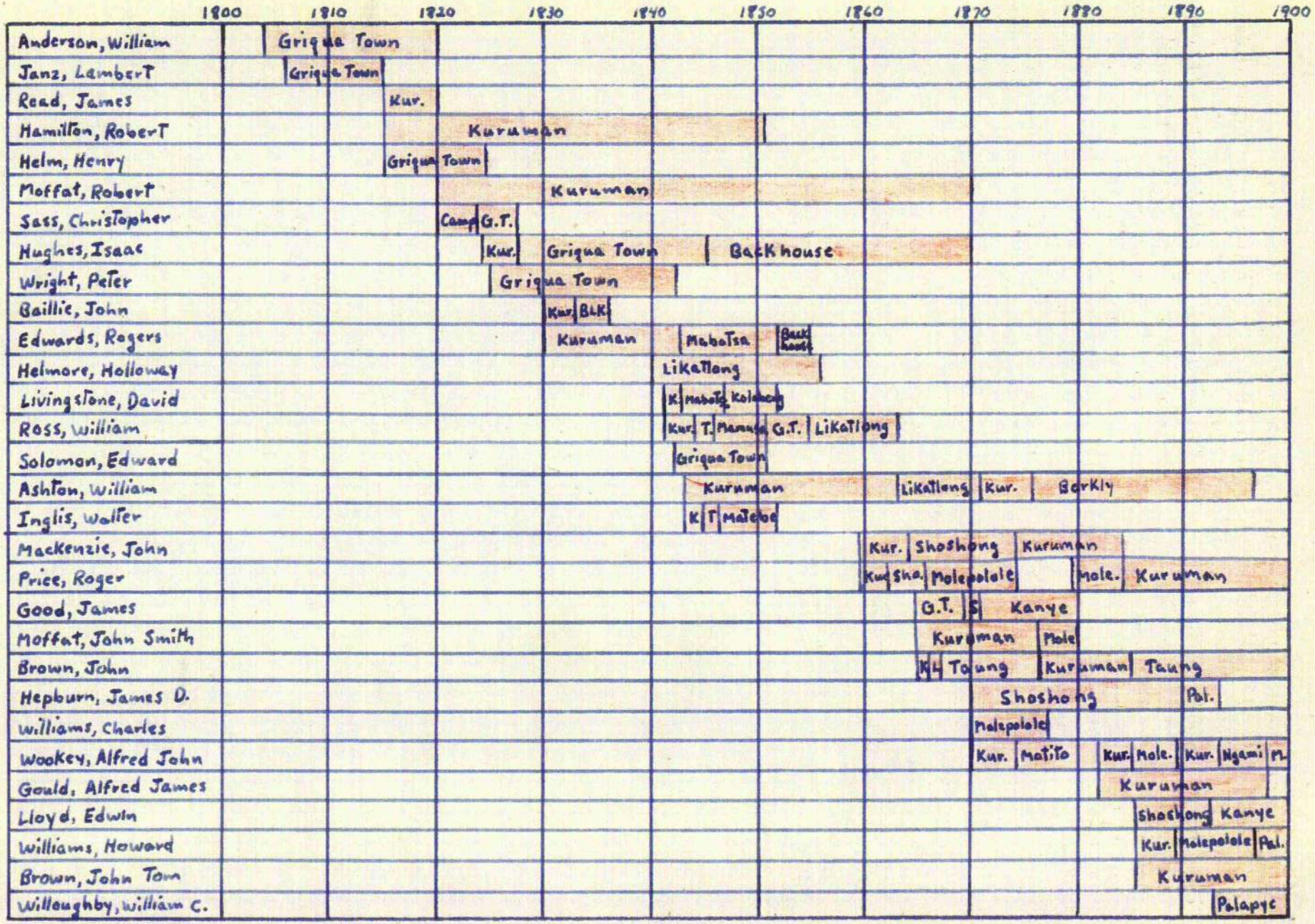

CHART OF MISSIONARIES AND STATIONS.

F. Biographical notes of the missionaries, based on the Missionary Register of the London Missionary Society.

1. ANDERSON, WILLIAM
"Born, December 1, 1769. Appointed to South Africa. Sailed, April 10, 1800. Arrived at Cape Town, September, 1800. Leaving Cape Town February 10, 1801, accompanied Mr. Kicherer on his mission to the Bushmen. Commenced the Griqua Mission in July, 1801. Formed the station at Klaar Water, or Griqua Town, in July, 1804. Visited Cape Town in 1809, and returned to his station, September 20, 1811. Removed to Caledon Institution (Zuurbraak) in 1820, and afterwards to Pacaltsdorp (formerly Hooge Kraal), January 18, 1821. Through age and infirmity he resigned missionary work in 1848. Died in Pacaltsdorp, September 24, 1852, aged 83."

2. JANZ, LAMBERT
"Appointed to South Africa. Originally engaged by the Netherlands Missionary Society. Joined the London Missionary Society's mission at Klaar Water (Griqua Town) between May and November, 1806. Laboured at Griqua Town until January 14, 1815, when he died."

3. READ, JAMES
"Born at Abridge, Essex, December 3, 1777. Appointed to the South Seas. Sailed, December 20, 1798. Captured by the French. Returned to England, via Lisbon, arriving October 13, 1799. Appointed to South Africa. Sailed, May 10, 1800. Arrived at Cape Town, September 15, 1800. Joined Dr. Vanderkemp at Graaf Reinet, and with him left that place, February 20, 1802, for the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay. Settled at Bethelsdorp. In 1816 he left for Griqua Town, where he arrived, August 18. On December 10, he left for Lattakoo, where he arrived, December 28. Commenced the Kuruman Mission in 1817. Returned to Bethelsdorp, July 26, 1820. Removed to Philipton, a Kat River Settlement, in 1829. On January 24, 1835, proceeded to Graham's Town, at the request of Colonel Smith. Permission to return to Philipton being delayed, he removed to Bethelsdorp. After fresh applications, on November 11, 1835, a final refusal to allow his return to Philipton was sent by the Governor. Went to Cape Town, and sailed for England, arriving June 14, 1836. With Dr. Philip and the native converts, who accompanied him, he gave evidence before a Parliamentary Committee respecting the condition of the Aborigines in South Africa, and the causes of the Kafir War. Returned to South Africa with Dr. Philip. Sailed, November 25, 1837, arrived at Cape Town, February 6, 1838. Proceeded to the Kat River settlement; arrived there in March, 1838. In 1851, on the destruction and abandonment of that station, retired to Alice. Died at Eland's Post, May 8, 1852.

4. HAMILTON, ROBERT
"Born in 1776. Appointed to South Africa, as a missionary artisan. Sailed, February 5, 1815. Arrived at Cape Town, May 22, 1815; at Bethelsdorp, September 14; and at Griqua Town, January 11, 1816. Accompanied the brethren in the two attempts, in February and August, 1816, to establish a mission at Kattakoo. From Griqua Town he visited the Colony, and returned to Griqua Town. Leaving that place, April 16, 1817, he joined the brethren at Lattakoo, April 25. On June 4, removed with the mission to New Lattakoo (now Kuruman) on the Kuruman River, where he continued to labour until his death, which took place at Kuruman, on July 11, 1851."

5. HELM, HENRY
" Born at Mecklenberg, 1780. Studied at Berlin. Appointed to South Africa. Ordained at the Lutheran Church, London. Sailed June 21, 1811. Arrived at Cape Town, September 13, 1811. Left in December, 1811, and arrived at Captain Kok's kraal, Silver Fountain, April 7, 1812. Removed with Mr. Sass to Bethesda, on the Orange River, arriving there November 23, 1813. On Mr. Janz's death, in 1815, he supplied the vacancy at Griqua Town; laboured there from 1815 until August, 1824. Removed to Bethelsdorp in August, 1824, remaining there till July 4, 1827; then removed to Caledon Institution (Zuurbraak), arriving there July 31, 1827. Mr. Helm died at Pacaltsdorp, March 20, 1848."

6. MOFFAT, ROBERT
"Born, December 21, 1795, at Ormiston, East Lothian. Appointed to South Africa. Ordained at Surrey Chapel, September 30, 1816. Sailed, October 31, 1816. Arrived at Cape Town, January 13, 1817. After a long detention in the Colony, left Cape Colony, September 22, 1817, and proceeded to Africaner's Kraal, 'Peace Mountain' or 'Jerusalem', where he joined Mr. Ebner, January 26, 1818. In 1818 he made a long exploratory tour in the Damara country. On September 2, 1818, he left Africaner's Kraal to visit Griqua Town, where he arrived September 11. On September 17, accompanied by Mr. Anderson, he set out for Lattakoo, where they arrived on the 24th. Leaving Lattakoo, September 28, they reached Griqua Town, October 3. Leaving Griqua Town, October 5, Mr. Moffat arrived at Africaner's Kraal, October 15. He afterwards took a journey to Cape Town, accompanied by Africaner; arrived at Cape Town, April 12, 1819. While he was at Cape Town it was determined that he should accompany the Rev. John Campbell, the Deputation, on his visit to the interior. Left Cape Town with Mr. Campbell, January 18, 1820, and arrived at Griqua Town, March 13, and at New Lattakoo (Kuruman), March 25. On July 26 he returned to Griqua Town, where he was stationed for a time. At the desire of the chief, Mothibi, he removed to Kuruman (New Lattakoo), where he arrived, May 17, 1821. On May 14, 1823,

he set out to visit Makaba, chief of the Bawangketse; but on the way news reached him of an incursion of the Mantatees; he therefore returned to Kuruman. Afterwards, for the benefit of Mrs. Moffat's health, he accompanied her to Cape Town, where they arrived, December 30, 1823. Returning, they left Cape Town, March 3, 1824, and arrived at Kuruman, May 1. On July 1, 1824, he set out to visit Makaba, chief of the Bawangketse. Arrived at Quaque, the capital of the tribe, August 3. Leaving Quaque, August 11, he returned to Kuruman, where he arrived, August 28. Soon afterwards, because of dissensions among the native tribes, he was compelled to retire for a time, with his family, to Griqua Town. Early in 1825 they returned to Kuruman. In 1826 the station was laid out and a stone dwelling-house erected. On November 9, 1829, he set out to visit Moselekatse, chief of the Matabele, and returned at the end of December. In 1830, he, with his family, visited Cape Town, to carry through the press his version of the Gospel by Luke, and various elementary books in the Sechuana language. He arrived at Cape Town, October, 1830, and, having accomplished this work, returned to Kuruman, arriving June 29, 1831. In April, 1833, Mrs. Moffat left Kuruman to visit Graham's Town, and returned in September. In May, 1835, he accompanied Dr. Andrew Smith on a visit to Moselekatse, with whom he spent two months, and to whom he then proposed the establishment of a mission among the Matabele, and received his cordial consent. He returned in August. At the close of 1836 he set out to visit the towns on the Yellow and Kolong Rivers. Having completed a Sechuana version of the New Testament, he proceeded to Cape Town to arrange for its being printed there; but his efforts for this purpose failing, he sailed for England with his family, where he arrived June 12, 1839, and carried this work through the press. Returning to South Africa with Mrs. Moffat, he sailed January 30, 1843, and arrived at Cape Town, April 10, and at Kuruman, December 13. In the course of 1854 he made a long tour into the interior, and visited Moselekatse. In 1857 he completed the Sechuana version of the Scriptures, which was carried through the press at Kuruman. In July, 1857, he set out to visit the Matabele, to make arrangements for the establishment of a mission among that people. He returned to Kuruman in February, 1858, and soon after set out for Cape Town, to meet the new missionaries appointed to the interior, north of Kuruman. Leaving Cape Town in August with some of the party, he returned to Kuruman, where they arrived in December. In August, 1859, accompanied by Messrs. Thomas and John Moffat and their wives, and Mr. Sykes, he left Kuruman to proceed to Matabele Land. They arrived at Inyati, their destination, October 28. Mr. Moffat returning, left Inyati, June 18, and arrived at Kuruman, August 21, 1860. In 1870 the state of his health and that of Mrs. Moffat rendering a change desirable, they returned to England. He died at Leigh, near Tonbridge, Kent, August 9, 1883, aged 87."

7. SASS, CHRISTOPHER
"Born in Prussia, 1772. Studied at Berlin. Appointed to South Africa. Sailed, June 21, 1811. Arrived at Cape Town, September 13, 1811. Left, November 21, for Namaqualand, but being invited to Captain Cornelius Kok's kraal (Silver Fountain) settled there, February 26, 1812. Mrs. Sass died at Silver Fountain, September 29, 1813. Removed with Mr. Helm to Bethesda, on the Orange River, arriving there November 23, 1813. In 1820, through ill-health, removed to Campbell, where he remained until 1823, when he took up his station at Griqua Town. Disastrous events occurring there, together with ill-health, led him, in 1827, to retire to Bethelsdorp. Remaining there a short time, in 1828, he removed to Uitenhage, and, in 1830, to Theopolis, where he resided until hid death, in 1849."

8. HUGHES, ISAAC
"Born in 1798. Appointed to South Affica as an Artisan (blacksmith). Sailed, October 18, 1823. Arrived at Cape Town, December 30. Left March 3, and after some detention at Griqua Town arrived at Kuruman in August, 1824. In consequence of dissensions among the native tribes, retired to Griqua Town, arriving there November 19, 1824. Early in 1825 returned to Kuruman. Soon after, he visited the colony to obtain supplies of grain, etc. Early in 1828 removed with his family to Griqua Town, as his permanent station. In 1839 he was recognized as a Missionary. In 1845 Mr. Hughes removed to the Vaal River to carry out a plan for igrigation. He established a new station there, called Backhouse. About 1849 he visited Hankey to examine the irrigation works at that station. He died at Backhouse, June 23, 1870."

9. WRIGHT, PETER
"Appointed to South Africa as an Artisan. Sailed, August 19, 1821. Arrived at Cape Town, November 28, 1821. Under Dr. Philip's directions, he received instruction, preparing him for the work of a Catechist. In 1823 he was sent to Theopolis to superintend the secular affairs of the station. In 1825 removed to Griqua Town to assist Mr. Sass. On March 14, 1826, he was ordained at Theopolis as a missionary. In 1827 he became the principal missionary at Griqua Town. In 1842 removed to Philippolis. Died at Philippolis, April 14, 1843."

10. BAILLIE, JOHN
"Born in 1803, at Edinburgh. Studied at Gosport and Mission College, Hoxton. Appointed to South Africa. Ordained, May 22, 1829, at Kingsland Chapel, London. Sailed, July 18, 1829. Arrived at Cape Town, October 7. Accompanied Mr. Atkinson to Bethelsdorp, and shared with him the duties at Port Elizabeth. Left Bethelsdorp May 17, 1830, and arrived at Philippolis June 23, and remained there till August

27. Arrived at Kuruman, September 12, 1830. Removed to Blink-Klip or Tsantsaban, arrived March 23, 1833, and formed a new station there. Returning to England with his family, arrived in September, 1836, when his connection with the Society was dissolved. Died, October 6, 1872."

11. EDWARDS, ROGERS
"Born, December 31, 1795. Appointed to South Africa as an Artisan. Sailed, October 19, 1823. Arrived at Cape Town, December 30. Was stationed, first, at Pacaltsdorp in 1824. Removed to Theopolis in 1825, and to Kuruman in 1830. In November, 1836, Mrs. Edwards being seriously ill, he accompanied her to Graham's Town, and thence to Bethelsdorp, whence he returned to his station. Seven months after, her illness increasing, he again joined her at Bethelsdorp in October, 1837. Mrs. Edward's health being restored, they returned to Kuruman, March, 1838. In 1843 he left Kuruman with Mr. Livingstone, and, arriving at Mabotsa, established a mission among the Bakhatla tribe at that place. In 1852, being expelled from his station by the Transvaal Boers, he retired to Philippolis, and subsequently to Backhouse; and in 1855 returned to Philippolis. In 1856 he removed to Port Elizabeth, to take charge of the Fingo mission. In 1874 he, on account of age and infirmity, resigned the Pastorate of the Fingo Church, and retired from the active service of the Society, but continued to reside at Port Elizabeth, where he died, December 8, 1876."

12. HELMORE, HOLLOWAY
"Born, December 14, 1815, at Kidderminster. Studied at Homerton College. Appointed to Africa. Ordained, December 20, 1838, at Leamington. Sailed, January 26, 1839. Arrived at Cape Town, May 3, and thence proceeded to Griqua Town, where he arrived, October 14. In June, 1840, he removed to Lekatlong and took charge of that station. In 1842 he removed to Borigelong, between Lekatlong and Taung, connected with the Kuruman Mission. In October, 1843, he returned to Kekatlong and resumed his work there. In 1856, his health having failed, he with his family returned to England, where he arrived August 5. Having been appointed to open a mission among the Makololo, on the north of the Zambezi, he sailed for S.Africa with Mrs. Helmore and four children, July 5, 1858. Arriving at Cape Town he proceeded to Lekatlong, where he waited for the season to proceed northward. In July, 1859, with Mrs. Helmore and family and Mr. and Mrs. Price, he left Kuruman, and, after meeting with many difficulties, arrived at Linyanti, February 14, 1860. Here Mr. and Mrs. Helmore and two children died of fever, viz., Mrs. Helmore on March 12, Mr. Helmore on April 21, and the children on March 7 and 11 respectively. Under these disastrous circumstances the mission to the Makololo was given up."

13. LIVINGSTONE, DAVID

"Born, March 19, 1813, at Blantyre, Lanarkshire. Studied at Theological Academy, Glasgow, and Classics, Medicine, etc., at Glasgow University, where he became a Licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons. Appointed to Bechuana Land. Ordained, November 20, 1840. Sailed, December 8, 1840. Arrived at Kuruman, July 31, 1841. In September, 1841, he visited the Bakwaina tribe in company with Mr. Edwards. In 1842 he made a second and more extensive tour to the north of Kuruman. In 1843 he made two tours into the interior, in the second of which he was accompanied by Mr. Edwards, when a station was commenced in August, at Mabotsa, among the Bakhatla tribe. At the close of 1845 he removed to Chonuane, among the Bakwains. In 1846 he returned to Mabotsa. In 1847, having visited Kuruman, he returned to Chonuane and removed with the Chief Sechele and the Bakwain tribe to a new station on the river Kolobeng, 200 miles north-east of Kuruman. On June 1, 1849, he set out with Messrs. Oswell and Murray to proceed northward on a tour of exploration; and on August 1 arrived at Lake Ngami. This was the first of his great journeys of discovery. Returned to Kolobeng, October 10, 1849. In April, 1850, accompanied by Mrs. Livingstone and three children, he set out to visit Sebituane at Linyanti, and also with a view to the establishment of a Mission farther north. Having come within sight of the Lake, the sickness of many of the party obliged them to return to Kolobeng. After a visit to Kuruman he set out from Kolobeng, in April, 1851, with his family and Mr. Oswell, for Linyanti. Arriving at Linyanti, he, accompanied by Mr. Oswell, proceeded to Sesheke, and, at the end of June, 1851, came to the river Zambezi. Returning to Linyanti, and fearing attacks on Kolobeng by the Boers, and being unwilling to expose his family to the unhealthy climate at Linyanti, he proceeded with them to Cape Town, where Mrs. Livingstone and children embarked for England, where they arrived, June 23, 1852. On June 8, 1852, he set out from Cape Town to proceed northward on his fourth journey of exploration. Arriving at Kuruman, he leannt that on August 28 the station at Kolobeng had been attacked and destroyed by the Boers. Leaving Kuruman in November, 1852, he arrived at Litubaruba (Kolobeng), December 18[illegible]. Leaving Litubaruba, January 15, 1853, he proceeded to Linyanti, the town of Sekeletu, the son and successor of Sebituane, where he arrived May 23. Leaving Linyanti in July, he, accompanied by Sekeletu, proceeded to Sesheke, and thence to the northwest by the river Zambezi to Nariele; but not finding a suitable locality for a mission, he returned to Linyanti, arriving in September. Again leaving Linyanti on November 11, 1853, he retraced his steps to the northwest, and on May 31, 1854, arrived at Loanda on the west coast of Africa. On September 20, 1854, he set out from Loanda to proceed by the Leeambye or Zambezi River to Quilimane on the east coast, visiting Linyanti on the way. He arrived at

Linyanti in September, and remained there until November 3, when he left to carry out his design, accompanied for some distance by Sekeletu. Visiting the Victoria Falls on the way, he proceeded eastward, and arrived at Tete, a Portuguese station, March 3, 1856. Leaving Tete, April 22, he reached Quilimane at the northern mouth of the Zambezi, May 20. Sailing from Quilimane, July 12, he crossed to the Mauritius, arriving August 12, and thence proceeded by the Red Sea to England, where he arrived December 12, 1856. Soon after his arrival in England he resigned his connection with the Society. Dr. Livingstone died at Ilala in Central Africa May 1, 1873."

14. ROSS, WILLIAM
"Born in August 1802, at Gormach, Errol, N.B. Studied at St. Andrews, King's College, London, and United Secession Hall, Edinburgh. Appointed to Kuruman. Ordained, November 20, 1840. Sailed, December 8, 1840. Arrived at Port Elizabeth, April, 1841, and at Kuruman, July 31. In January, 1844, he commenced a mission at Taung, on the Kolong River. In 1846 he removed with the tribe to Mamusa. Mrs. Ross died at Motito, December 5, 1846. In June, 1851, tribal disturbances at Mamusa compelled him to proceed with his family to Griqua Town, where he remained until August, 1855. In August, 1855, he removed to Lekatlong, where he laboured with Mr. Helmore, and in 1860 took sole charge of the station. Died at Lekatlong, July 30, 1863."

15. SOLOMON, EDWARD
"Born, 1820. Was engaged in 1839 in the Cape Colony by Dr. Philip as a Schoolmaster. Ordained, October 21, 1840 at Cape Town. By a Board resolution of March 29, 1841, he was appointed to Hankey. In August, 1842, he removed to Griqua Town. Early in 1851 he removed to Philippolis. In 1855 that station became self-supporting. In 1857, having accepted the Pastorate of an English Church at Bedford, South Africa, his connection with the Society was dissolved. On March 30, 1868, he was appointed by the Directors one of three Commissioners to prepare for, and afterwards to carry out, the provisions of the 'Missionary Institutions' Act' of the Cape Legislature. In 1884 he resigned the pastorate of Bedford and removed to Cape Town. On September 15, 1886, he was drowned at Sea Point, Cape Town, aged 68."

16. ASHTON, WILLIAM
"Born, July 13, 1817, at Heaton Norris. Studied at Airedale College. Appointed to Kuruman. Ordained, June 23, 1842. Sailed, February 4, 1843. Arrived at Cape Town, April 10, and at Kuruman, December 13. Here, besides general mission work, he undertook the superintendence of the Printing Press; and after a time took part in the preparation and revision of the Sechuana version of the Scriptures, and, as the work was completed, carried it through the press. In July, 1851, he

accompanied by Mrs. Ashton, visited the Colony for the benefit of his health, and after a short stay at Philippolis and Colesberg, returned to Kuruman. Mrs. Ashton's health having seriously failed, he left Kuruman with her, in the autumn of 1854, to proceed to Cape Town, where they arrived in December, and, after a stay of several months in the Colony, returned to Kuruman. In 1857 the Sechuana version of the Bible, in the preparation of which he had taken part, was completed, and was carried through the press by him. In 1857 he commenced a monthly periodical in the Sechuana, 'The Instructor and News Teller of the Bechuanas.' In 1859 he visited Philippolis, and spent some months there. In 1864 he removed to Lekatlong and took charge of the station, which had become vacant by the death of Mr. Ross. He there, besides taking charge at Lekatlong, was engaged in the revision of the Sechuana New Testament. Early in 1870 he left Lekatlong, with Mrs. Ashton, to return to England. Sailed from Cape Town, April 23, for England, where he arrived June 6, 1870. Returning to South Africa, he said, with Mrs. Ashton, March 9, 1871. Returned to Lekatlong, whence, in 1871, by the appointment of the Board, he removed to Kuruman to occupy that station in the absence of Mr. J.S. Moffat in England. In 1876 he removed to Barkly, according to the arrangement of the Bechuana District Committee, which action was approved by the Board by a resolution of November 27, 1876. On December 20, 1879, Mrs. Ashton died at Barkly. In 1886 Mrs. Ashton returned to England, arriving June 8. Returning to South Africa, she sailed September 15, 1886. Mr. Ashton died in 1897."

17. INGLIS, WALTER

"Born, November 22, 1815, at Fala, Edinburghshire. Studied at Theological Academy, Glasgow. Appointed to Bechuana Land. Ordained, October 25, 1842, at Edinburgh. Sailed, February 4, 1843. Arrived at Cape Town April 10, and at Kuruman December 13. After an extensive journey in the interior, he settled temporarily at Griqua Town, where he studied the Sechuana language. In 1845 he commenced a mission among the Baharutse tribe, about twenty-five miles from Taung. In 1846 he removed with the tribe farther north. In 1846 he visited Colesberg, and, returning to the Bakhatla Station in April, 1847, proceeded to occupy a new station among the Baharutse, called Matebel In October, 1852, being compelled to leave the station by the unwarrantable proceedings of the Dutch Boers, he removed to Philippolis, and for a time laboured among the Griquas and Bechuanas. At the close of 1853 he left that station to return to England, where he arrived, with his family, May 11, 1854, when his connection with the Society ceased. He subsequently settled as a minister at Ayr in Canada, where he died October 18, 1884."

18. MACKENZIE, JOHN

"Born, August 30, 1835, at Knockando, Scotland. Appointed to the Makololo Mission, South Africa. Ordained, April 19, 1858 at Edinburgh. Sailed, June 5, 1858. Arrived at Cape Town, July 14, 1858, where he remained until May 25, 1860, when he set out with Mrs. Mackenzie for Makololo Land. Having proceeded northward to the Zouga River, in the neighbourhood of Lechulatebe's town, he met Mr. Price on September 8, from whom he heard of the disasters which had befallen the party of which Mr. Helmore had been the leader. On September 10, he set out, with Mr. Price, for Lechulatebe's town, where they arrived on the 18th. Thence, on September 26, with Mr. Price and the two surviving children of Mr. Helmore, he set out to return to Kuruman, where he arrived, February 14, 1861. Having, in May, 1862, received an appointment to Shoshong, the town of the Bamangwato Tribe, he soon after set out for that place, where he arrived in June. Shortly after his arrival, he, with Mr. Price, took steps preliminary to a second attempt to establish a mission among the Makololo, which, however, proved abortive. In July, 1863, leaving Mr. Price at Shoshong, he, with Mrs. Mackenzie, and accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. J.S. Moffat, visited Matabele land. They arrived at Moselekatse's town, August 25, and at Linyati, the Mission Station, August 29. After a stay of five months he returned, with Mrs. Mackenzie, to Shoshong, where they arrived at the end of February, 1864. Early in 1867 he commenced to build a church at Shoshong, which was opened January 7, 1868. Early in December, 1868, he left Shoshong with Mrs. Mackenzie and family to visit Kuruman, where he arrived December 23. In 1873 he visited Matabele Land. Having been appointed the Tutor in the 'Moffat Institution,' he commenced the Institution Classes at the beginning of August, 1873. It having been decided that the Institution should be conducted permanently at Kuruman, he removed to that station in 1876, and resumed the Institution work, and also took the Pastoral charge of the native Church and congregation. On March 10, 1884, resigned connection with the Society, on taking a Government appointment of Resident Commissioner in Bechuanaland. In August, 1884, he resigned his appointment. On July 28, 1891, he was appointed Missionary Pastor at Hankey, and sailed for South Africa with Mrs. Mackenzie, September 12, 1891, and arrived at Hankey, October 7. Mr. Mackenzie died at Kimberley, March 23, 1899, aged 63."

19. PRICE, ROGER

"Born, February 24, 1834, at Merthyr Cynog, S.Wales. Studied at Western College. Appointed to the Makololo Mission. Ordained, April 5, 1858, at Plymouth. Sailed, June 5, 1858. Arrived at Cape Town, July 14. Proceeding northward, he arrived at Kuruman, December 31, 1858. Arrangements for the journey to Makololo Land being completed,

he and Mrs. Price, with Mr. and Mrs. Helmore and family, left Kuruman, July 8, 1859. The party arrived at Linyanti, Sekeletu's town, February 14, 1860. Here Mr. and Mrs. Helmore and two of their children, and Mr. Price's child, died. Deprived by the chief of much of their equipment, he, with Mrs. Price, and the two surviving children of Mr. Helmore, set out from Linyanti on June 19 to retrace their steps southward. Mrs. Price died on the way, July 5. They arrived at Kuruman, February 14, 1861. Being appointed to join the Matabele Mission, if practicable, he left Kuruman for that purpose early in 1862, but, hearing at Shoshong that Moselekatse put obstacles in the way, he remained at Shoshong. In February, 1866, he, with Mrs. Price, proceeded to Logangeng, now called Molepolole, until January 5, 1875. Having been appointed by the Directors to visit the east coast of Africa, to inquire respecting the best route and mode of conveyance between Zanzibar and Lake Tanganyika with a view to the establishment of a mission at Ujiji, he sailed for Zanzibar, March 18, 1876, and arrived there May 2. After making full inquiries and preparation, he set out from Saadani, on July 5. Having obtained much important information respecting the route to Ujiji, he set out to return on July 8, and arrived at Saadani on July 23, and at Zanzibar, July 24. Having been appointed to conduct the expedition to Ujiji, and, arriving there, to take part in the establishment of the mission on Lake Tanganyika, arrived at Zanzibar, May 31, and set out on August 1, with the other members of the expedition, for the Lake. As they met with serious difficulties on the way to Mpwapwa, a reconsideration by the Directors of the plan laid down for them was deemed desirable. In 1879, he returned to Molepolole with Mrs. Price and four children, and arrived June 26. In 1883-4 he accompanied the Foreign Secretary in his deputation visit to North Bechuanaland and Matabeleland. On July 28, 1884, he was appointed to succeed Mr. Mackenzie as the Tutor in the Moffat Institution, and removed to Kuruman in March, 1885. In 1895 Mr. Price completed a new translation of the Old Testament from the revised English version. Mr. Price died at Kuruman on January 21, 1900, aged 65."

20. GOOD, JAMES

"Born, June 25, 1834, at Wakefield. Studied at Bedford and Highgate. Appointed to Griqua Town, South Africa. Ordained, August 30, 1864, at Whitby. Sailed October 11, 1864. Arrived at Griqua Town in June, 1865. In June, 1869, he removed, pro tem., to Shoshong, and took charge of the station during the absence of Mr. Mackenzie in England. On Mr. Mackenzie's return to Shoshong, he removed to Kanye, a new station, and settled there June 27, 1871. In 1872 he returned to England, with Mrs. Good and children, arriving November 20. Returning to South Africa with Mrs. Good, sailed August 21, 1873, and proceeding to Kanye, resumed his duties there. In 1884 he returned

to England on furlough with his family, arriving May 7. Returning to South Africa, with Mrs. Good and family, he sailed June 24, 1885. On August 6, 1893, he returned to England on furlough. Returning to Kanye he left England November 10, 1893."

21. MOFFAT, JOHN SMITH
"Born, March 10, 1835, at Kuruman. Studied at Cheshunt College and New College, London. Ordained March 31, 1858, at Brighton. Sailed June 5, 1858. Proceeded with Mrs. Moffat to Matabeleland, and co-operated with the missionaries at Inyati. In 1864 he was accepted by the Directors as a Missionary of the Society, and was appointed to the Matabele Mission. He left Inyati in September, 1865, and proceeded to Kuruman. In October, 1866, he visited Backhouse, Griqua Town, and other stations, and returned to Kuruman in November. On February 15, 1868, he was definitely appointed to Kuruman. While taking part in the general work of the Mission, he, with others, was occupied in the revision of the Sechuana New Testament. In 1876 Mr. Moffat was appointed for three years to Molepolole. Mr. Moffat commenced his work at Molepolole early in January, 1877. In 1879 he resigned. From 1880 to 1896 Mr. Moffat was in the service of the Government of South Africa (Assistant Commissioner for Bechuana Land Protectorate), and in 1890 was decorated C.M.G. for special diplomatic service in Matabeleland. Mr. Moffat died at Cape Town December 25, 1918, aged 83."

22. BROWN, JOHN
"Born January 8, 1841, at Bridgenorth. Studied at Lancashire Independent College and Highgate. Appointed to Kuruman. Ordained July 5, 1865, at Highgate. Sailed August 22, 1865. Arrived at Kuruman January 1866. Mr. Brown removed to Likatlong December 1866, and to Taung, December 6, 1867, opening a new station there. In 1876 he returned to England with his family, arriving January 21. Having been appointed to Kuruman for three years, he sailed for South Africa, with Mrs. Brown and family, January 12, 1877, and proceeded to Kuruman, where he took charge of the Boys' School connected with the Moffat Institution, and also of the out-stations of the Kuruman district. In 1882 he took up work in the Institution, and in the native church and congregation at Kuruman. In 1885 he resumed work at Taung, and removed to that station at the end of March. He died at Exmouth February 23, 1918, in his 78th year."

23. HEPBURN, JAMES DAVIDSON
"Born, February 25, 1840, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1864. Studied at Rotherham College and Highgate. Appointed to Shoshong, South Africa. Ordained, February, 1870. Sailed, May 18, 1870. Arrived at Port Elizabeth August 8, and proceeded thence to Shoshong. Having been

invited by Moremi, Chief of Tauana, on Lake Ngami, to visit him, he left Shoshong, April 26, 1877, and arrived at Tauana on June 2. On July 26, 1877, he set out homeward, and arrived at Shoshong September 13. In 1881, he again visited Lake Ngami, arriving April 30. In 1886, he visited the Batauana Chief Moremi. In 1889, as Khama and his people had removed to Phalapye, Mr. Hepburn also settled there. He returned to England, June 12, 1893, and died at Gateshead December 31, 1893, aged 53."

24. WILLIAMS, CHARLES
"Born, August 12, 1839, at Oxford. Studied at Bedford and Highgate. Appointed to Kruis Fontein, South Africa. Ordained, June 26, 1866. Arrived at Kruis Fontein in December. In 1869, he supplied at Hope Dale during Mr. Dower's visit to New Griqua Land. He left Kruis Fonein in September, 1870, and proceeded to Molepolole. Here he directed special attention to work among the refugee tribes residing among the Bakwena tribe. From January, 1875, to January, 1877, the entire charge of the mission rested on him. Returned to England, on furlough in 1877, arriving May 7. In 1878, he retired from foreign missionary service, and held the Pastorates of the Congregational Churches at Benson, 1879-1901, and Nettlebed, 1901-1905. He died February 18, 1920."

25. WOOKEY, ALFRED JOHN
"Born, March 4, 1847, at Llanelly, Brecknockshire. Studied at Lancashire College and Highgate. Appointed to the Bechuana Mission. Ordained, May 4, 1870. Sailed, May 18, 1870. Arrived at Port Elizabeth, August 8, whence he proceeded to Kuruman. In 1874 he removed, pro tem, to Motito, about forty miles north-east of Kuruman. Having offered his services for Central Africa, he arrived at Ujiji, October 3, 1880. In 1882, he resumed work in Bechuanaland. Arrived at Kuruman, June 17, and took charge of the Boys' School there. On July 21, 1885, Mr. Wookey removed to Molepolole. In April 1889 he removed to Kuruman. In 1892, he was appointed to carry on a mission in the neighbourhood of Lake Ngami. Arrived at Phalapye, February 28, left Phalapye, May 2, and went on to Tauana, Lake Ngami, arriving June 30, 1893, and settled at Kgwebe. In 1898, he settled at Molepolole, July 20. He settled at Cape Town in 1900 for a time, and took up again the revision of the Sechuana Scriptures, which he had begun about five years before. In 1902, he proceeded to Kuruman to superintend the work there, and to continue his revision work. In April 1904, Mr. Wookey removed to Vryburg and pursued his labours as reviser, with the addition of itineration in outlying portions of the adjoining Mission districts. Early in 1907, Mr. Wookey completed the revision of the Sechuana Scriptures. Mr. Wookey died at Mowbray, Cape Town, January 15, 1917, in his 70th year."

26. GOULD, ALFRED JAMES
"Born, August 14, 1859, in London. Appointed as a Printer, etc., at Kuruman for five years. Sailed, August 1, 1882. Arrived at Kuruman, September 21, 1882. His term of service having expired, he returned to England with Mrs. Gould, arriving August 30, 1887. Being anxious to resume work at Kuruman, the Directors, on October 10, 1887, appointed him on the permanent staff of the Mission as Printer at Kuruman. Returning to Kuruman with Mrs. Gould, sailed June 6, 1888, and arrived at Kuruman, July 23, 1888. In 1898, Mr. Gould was appointed missionary to the Chief Rauwe and his tribe on the Tati Concession, and settled at Selepen in October. In March, 1917, his connection with the Society terminated, and he emigrated with his family to Canada. He died at Vegreville, Alberta, May 16, 1913, aged 52 years."

27. LLOYD, EDWIN
"Born, September 24, 1856, at Llandovery. Studied at Hackney College. Appointed to Shoshong, South Africa. Ordained, September 19, 1884. Sailed, October 15, 1884. Arrived at Kuruman, December 25, and at Shoshong, February 6, 1885. On June 7, 1887, he left Shoshong and visited Lake Ngame and districts beyond, and returned to Shoshong November 15. In 1891, Mr. Lloyd visited Lake Ngami and Ndara, returned to Phalapye, January 6, 1892, and soon after removed to Kanye to take charge. Mr. Lloyd's work was partly educational, and also evangelistic. He also made extensive journeys among several still unenlightened tribes. While in England (1894-1896) he served as interpreter for the three chiefs from Bechuanaland during their visit in England. He assisted in the revision of the Sechuana Scriptures, and wrote hymns in the same language. Mr. Lloyd retired from active service in 1914, and from time to time undertook temporary pastoral work in South Africa."

28. WILLIAMS, HOWARD
"Born, October 20, 1857, at Beaminster. Studied at Western College. Appointed to Kuruman District. Ordained, September 23, 1885, at Basingstoke. Sailed, October 13, 1885. Arrived at Kuruman, December 9, 1885, and after a short time entered on work in the outlying districts. He took temporary charge of the work at Taung, arriving there at the end of March, 1887. In February, 1888, he resumed his work in the Kuruman District. In 1889, he took charge at Molepolole. In 1897, Mr. Williams visited Cape Town on account of ill-health. On recovery he proceeded to Phalapye and settled there. In 1903, he settled at Shoshong. Having been appointed to Kanye, Mr. Williams left Shoshong, November 7, 1906. Mr. Williams died at Kanye, January 18, 1914, aged 56."

29. WILLOUGHBY, WILLIAM CHARLES
"Born, March 16, 1857, at Redruth. Studied at Spring Hill College.

Appointed to the Central African Mission. Ordained, May 1, 1882. Sailed, May 17, 1882. Arrived at Urambo, October 31, 1882. His health having failed, in December, 1883, he resigned his connection with the Society, and resumed study at Spring Hill College. In May, 1885, he became the Pastor of the Congregational Church in Mill Street, Perth. He resigned the pastorate at Perth in May, 1887, and after spending two years, mostly in deputation work for the Society, in May, 1889, he became the Pastor of the Congregational Church at Union Street, Brighton. This pastorate he resigned on being, on December 20, 1892, appointed to the district at Phalapye, North Bechuanaland. Dedicated, February 15, 1893, at Brighton. Arrived at Phalapye, June 16, 1893. In 1895, Mr. Willoughby accompanied Khama and other chiefs to England on political business. In 1903, Mr. Willoughby removed with the Bamangwato tribe to Serowe. On April 8, 1903, Mr. Willoughby was appointed Principal of the proposed Central School for Bechuanaland, and returned to England to confer with the Directors. The Central School, under the name of the 'Tiger Kloof Native Institution', was established by Mr. Willoughby at Tiger Kloof, District Vryburg, C.P. In February, 1915, ill-health having compelled Mr. Willoughby to relinquish the Principalship of Tiger Kloof, he removed to Molepolole, having assumed former charge there from the preceding November. In 1917, ill-health and advancing age compelled Mr. Willoughby to retire, and he visited Australia and New Zealand as Deputation for the Society. In 1918, he took a round trip in the John Williams, and returned to England, via America, arriving December 28, 1918. In 1919, he was appointed Professor of African Missions in the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary, Connecticut, U.S.A. He died June 19, 1938 at Birmingham."

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